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issue provided a commentary by B. L. Mostaza stating that "it does not seem that the Manila Conference can help to resolve the Vietnamese conflict. It has rather resulted in a defensive pact between the countries which participated in it." In the 27 October issue, Gustavo Valverde asserted that the President's trip and visit to Cam Ranh "will have their political dividends in their sentimental impact on the American masses." An editorial in the 1 November issue noted that "In his speeches in Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur, President Johnson put Communist China in the dilemma of choosing the negotiating table or the field of combat. It seems that during the days when he was carrying on a dialogue with the Southeast Asian leaders, Johnson reached the conclusion that for the present there is no hope that either the Peking or Hanoi regime will adopt an attitude of compromise. As a result, judging from the speeches which he made after the Manila Conference, Johnson's policy is resolutely inclined toward war to compel Peking and Hanoi to sit down 'at the table of reason. This explains the solemn and repeated offers which Johnson has made to the Southeast Asian countries ... to support them against any threat of aggression, including the nuclear threat." A largely factual report in the 3 November issue asserted: "It can be taken for granted that the trip through Southeast Asia and Korea, which the President of the US has just completed will have great historic significance." A largely factual report by Ya's Saigon correspondent, which also appeared in the 3 November issue, stated that although "Johnson cannot say to his people after the Manila Conference that he is bringing them peace with honor ... I believe that his trip may have very positive aspects for the solidarity of the Southeast Asian countries and for the prestige of the protagonist of the trip himself."

Independent Madrid, which provided factual news service coverage in its 24, 27-28, 30 October, and 1-3 November issues and ceased coverage by 4 November, provided only limited commentary. In the 24 October issue, Alejandro Martinez Arroyo, Madrid's Manila correspondent, commented that: "The Manila Conference is neither a peace conference nor a meeting to intensify the war. In Manila will be discussed mainly the possibility of finding a formula which will permit the allies of the Saigon government to withdraw from Vietnam without letting the population south of the 17th parallel fall into the hands of Communism. The work is not easy ..." In the 26 October issue, "J.S.R." asserted that the solution to the Vietnamese conflict rests with Peking and that, therefore, "no optimism can exist concerning the collective offer made in Manila." The 2 November issue also carried a commentary by "J.S.R." stating: "Johnson has finished his trip through Asia and Oceania. Almost all the objectives have been attained with efficacy: to seek the solidarity of the countries which met in Manila; raise the morale of the soldiers fighting in Vietnam; and repeat the US desires for peace and its firm intention to fight without dismay as long as the enemies refuse to negotiate."

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aims toward returning to the Geneva principles, it would be only logical for it to accept the Vietnamese Liberation Front as an independent negotiating party." The paper, on the next day, also deplored the President's short visit to Vietnam and, in reference to the Conference, said the results satisfied neither the US Doves nor Hawks, citing a "confused" mood in the US in regard to the trip, which has not lived up to its "exaggerated" expectations.

Hamburg independent Die Welt noted in an article on 27 October that the Conference was an attempt to "build bridges" and to smooth the way to negotiations, but that it produced no solutions to the Vietnam conflict. "The search for a mutually acceptable solution goes beyond Vietnam.... The difficulty of making decisions on Vietnam consists of the fact that every ruling made today also determines the political future of not only Indochina, but also the other countries of Southeast Asia, as well as of Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines." It said that if a form of neutrality could be achieved in Vietnam, then the way would be open to a Pacific-Asian Alliance for Progress; but pointed out that the Soviet Union must assist in ending the conflict.

An article in the 28 October issue of the same paper said the Manila declaration bears the mark of Walt Rostow, proclaiming a new concept, that of Asian regionalism, designed to end the inferiority complex of America's Asian partners and show them that "Asia for the Asians" is more than a mere propaganda slogan.

In describing the Conference as a contribution to peace and an expression of the willingness to compromise, the 28 October issue of the Stuttgart Protestant weekly, Christ und Welt, discussed the effect of the Conference and trip in Japan.

On 4 November, the Hamburg independent weekly, Die Zeit, front-paged an article from its Washington correspondent on the President's reaction to China's recent nuclear explosion, saying that his statement in Kuala Lumpur carried more weight than the Manila Conference communique -- i.e., the assurance that strong American support would be forthcoming in case an atomic power threatened other Southeast Asian countries; however, he did not define exactly how such a guarantee of support would be implemented, the article said.

West Berlin independent Der Tagesspiegel of 2 November said that the tour certainly improved the President's image and countered the fear of critics that the Vietnam conflict would develop increasingly into an American affair and widen the gulf between whites and Asians. It said The Conference "has indicated again that Johnson by no means seeks a permanent military presence in Vietnam, but that US troops could be withdrawn six months after infiltration from the North ends. It is not the US but North Vietnam which sets forth unacceptable conditions for peace talks."

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Despite the negative answer which already has been received from Hanoi, the paper wondered if the Communique had not given President Ho Chi Minh cause for serious thinking. It felt that Ho must certainly realize now that his dream of unifying Vietnam by military means cannot be fulfilled. Helsingin Sanomat also felt that the main question now is whether Ho Chi Minh "was his own master" or Peking has so much influence that he can not create the conditions for withdrawal of the US and its allies. Noting the recent discussions between North Vietnam and the Soviet leaders, the paper said that although Moscow's public reaction to the Communique did not appear reassuring, perhaps the signers of the Manila Communique had the small hope that Soviet diplomacy, "which has proven able and realistic," could succeed in bringing about a peace "probably sooner than any other outside factor."

In its second editorial, on 3 November, Helsingin Sanomat felt that the anti-US demonstrations, "arranged by small groups," had received publicity completely disproportionate to the many millions who greeted the President and are friendly to the US.

The paper observed that although the Manila Conference with the conditions for withdrawal from Vietnam was the main objective of the trip, the President's speeches have given the impression that "much broader and far-reaching plans than that of winning or settling one local war" were involved. Helsingin Sanomat noted that since Western Europe already is able to get along with its own resources and no longer is so vulnerable militarily as before, Washington's sights were aimed at the other side of the Pacific, which needs economic aid as well as strong military allies. The paper observed that after the recent firing of the Chinese nuclear weapon, President Johnson directed his speeches more to China than to Vietnam, offering cooperation, but also warning and threatening China as well as promising aid to China's neighbors who do not possess nuclear weapons. The paper saw the US desiring to aid the economies of the countries in the Pacific area in the same manner that it "put Europe on its feet in the decades following World War II."

On 28 October, Uusi Suomi wrote that although nothing earth-shaking was expected from the Manila Conference, President Johnson "went farther" than many had predicted when he offered a timetable for the withdrawal of US troops. However, the paper felt that the proposal for the timetable left many points open and it saw difficulties in connection with the withdrawal, particularly concerning the Viet Cong guerrillas. The paper thought that the timetable was intended as much for Moscow as for Hanoi, to show, above all, that the US is prepared to make concessions provided that its adversaries do likewise. The paper said that "the ball is now in Hanoi's hands" and observed that if Hanoi is prepared to compromise, "conditions have improved in some respects recently."

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those in the State Department, had "fallen into a trap out of which they are thought incapable of finding their way."

While the title of the Social Democratic Aftonbladet (reviewed through 3 November) editorial of 31 October was "Mr. Johnson's Asia Tour," the paper discussed US policy in Vietnam and Asia more than the President's trip or the Manila Conference. However, the paper said that President Johnson's "inspection trip" to the Far East has brought one visible result thus far -- that the US intends to greatly increase its military aid to Thailand, "the first-class base" of the US military forces. The paper said that "this latest contribution to the military escalation" in South Vietnam "reflects the primitive policy of the US in Asia."

Aftonbladet then launched into an attack on US policy in Vietnam, speculating that if the US had permitted elections in Vietnam at the time of the Geneva accords, Ho Chi Minh would have been president of a united Vietnam now. The paper denied that in that case the Chinese People's Republic would have had any influence on Vietnam and instead Ho would have been an Asian Tito, under circumstances which "undeniably would have been preferable to the present situation." The paper described Vietnam and Thailand as pawns in the US game against China. The paper felt that the US disinclination and incapability to accept the national social and economic motives behind the Vietnam conflict and the attempt to preserve US interests with the aid of the "reactionary regimes" of Asia was the "worst conceivable policy."

Stockholm Communist weekly Ny Dag (reviewed through 10 November), which had completely ignored the President's trip in its regular news coverage up to this time, finally in its issue of 4-10 November, devoted to the President's trip half of a column on foreign issues written by E. Bondeson. The writer was biting and cynical. He said that the world press smiled at the announced purpose of the trip that the President wished to confer with its Allies in Asia. Instead, the writer saw it as a "master issuing orders to satellites." The writer felt that the Manila Conference signified nothing in policy and that the "vacuous" Communique which merely repeated the US position on the Vietnam problem. Bondeson wrote that of greater political interest was the reactions of the people, "the violent and very hostile mass demonstrations" in the cities where Mr. Johnson visited. The writer thought that due to Mr. Johnson's "lack of popularity" in the US, his own party decided "to get rid of him" during the electoral campaign.

Communist weekly Tidsignal, reviewed through 1 November had no coverage of either the Presidential trip or the Manila Conference.

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Ivory Coast

The two Abidjan newspapers reviewed for the general period 26 October-10 November were the progovernment semiofficial daily Fraternite-Matin and the PDCI-RDA (Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally) weekly organ, Fraternite. The latter made no reference to the President's trip or to the Manila Conference. On 26 and 27 October, Fraternite-Matin carried factual items dealing with the Manila Conference; it noted that no new solution to the Vietnamese conflict had been found.

Libya

A 23 October-1 November survey of the Tripoli daily Tarabulus al-Gharb revealed that considerable attention was given to the trip of President Johnson, from the time of his speech in New Zealand to preparations for receiving him in South Korea. Coverage was characterized by lengthy and factual news releases, especially by the Libyan News Agency (INA), which were well-balanced but definitely favorable to the US and the Manila Conference. The 30 November edition carried an item headlined "Johnson Calls on Hanoi to End War," which reported on the President's speech in Bangkok and his acceptance of an honorary degree at Bangkok University. The 31 November issue reported the President's visit to Malaysia with stress on his warning to Peking and Malaysia's support for US policy. The article concluded with a brief reference to the demonstrations.

In a rather unusual display of comprehensive reporting, the 25 November edition of Tarabulus al-Gharb carried a page one banner headline ("Johnson Last to Speak at Manila Conference") article which gave much attention to the speeches of President Johnson and General Westmoreland. On page 5 of the same edition was an even longer INA report on President Marcos' comments on the search for peace. The 27 October issue, on page one, carried a major story on President Johnson's "Surprise Visit to Vietnam," which was treated impartially. The article ended by quoting Pravda's criticism of the Manila Conference.

Malagasy Republic

The 26 October to 12 November issues of Le Courrier de Madagascar, Tananarive independent daily newspaper, reported regularly on the President's trip. The articles, none of which were signed or indicated the news agency that made them available, were all objective in their treatment, and appeared, in most instances, on the front page.

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For the 29 October issue of Volksstimme, Bruno Furch wrote another critical article entitled, "Manila and the Results: an Absurd Conference Intended to Justify a More Dangerous Line of Action." According to Furch, "the demands of the US and the 'puppet' states issued at the end of the Conference were more outrageous than ever before. The 'peace offer' is nothing more than a demand for complete surrender by North Vietnam and the Vietcong. Furch repeated the standard position taken by Volksstimme on the Vietnam war: the Vietcong is an independent, indigenous organization of patriots; North Vietnam does not attack South Vietnam or the US, but only defends itself against unprovoked assault. Furch found the Conference proposals totally unacceptable, and intended merely to (1) justify an escalation, and (2) improve President Johnson's position on the home front.

On 30 October, Volksstimme varied the attack by running a photo of de Gaulle with the caption, "De Gaulle urges withdrawal of US forces and cessation of bombing of North Vietnam as the only approach to peace in South Asia." On 1 November, a brief unsigned article appeared with the heading: "Johnson Threatens China with 'Deterrence'; Bloody demonstrations Against the US." The article castigated President Johnson for threatening China, quoted Ho Chi Minh as saying that unwarranted attacks have caused resolution in North Vietnam to defend the fatherland to the end, and reported on anti-US demonstrations in Malaysia, France, Italy, and East Germany. Volksstimme did not take up the cudgels again until 6 November, when it ran an article of about one-fourth of a page by Ernst Wimmer entitled, "Empty Words in Manila." Having failed to drive back Communism in East Europe, said Wimmer, the US now has undertaken to drive back Communism in Asia. Now the power which started two great wars in Asia within ten years -- in Korea and in Vietnam -- has called a conference in Manila under the motto, "Asia for the Asians." "But who speaks for the Asians?" asked Wimmer, "Australia? New Zealand? Or the dictatorship of Thailand supported by 40,000 American soldiers? Or the dictatorship of South Vietnam based on 400,000 American soldiers? Or South Korea, where the government is dependent on American tanks and bayonets?" Wimmer went on to ridicule the "Charter for the Freedom of Asia" as a monumental piece of hypocrisy under which the US is merely trying to enlarge and strengthen its sphere of influence in Asia. But, said Wimmer, although the US is fully aware of the gulf between its words and its actions, it is not aware of the gulf between its desires and its capabilities, and in the end it will be defeated. The Manila Declaration, concluded Wimmer, is a long step back from possible peace, clearly a preparation for escalation of the war.

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A column headed "Mephistopheles Writes About:", in the 24 October issue, contained five brief items of political satire on the Manila Conference.

Results of the Manila Conference were viewed with extreme skepticism in a front-page editorial titled "Manilapulations" in the 26 October issue, which predicted that the Vietnam war will continue its course after the Manila meeting. "The US proposal," it said, "is not remarkable for clarity," and pointed out that there is "no earthly chance" of checking on infiltration from the North.

News coverage was relegated to the last page on 27 and 28 October, after which it was discontinued, except for a 1 November RB dispatch from Seoul, which reported that "2 million South Koreans ran completely amok with joy over the President's visit."

Berlingske Tidende (19 October-1 November) continued to champion the US point of view and clung to its hopeful attitude toward the outcome of the Manila Conference.

On 23 October, "Ge.," the paper's Washington correspondent, reported prevalent speculations on the forthcoming conference, without other comment than the conclusion: "Even if the negotiations do not lead to any immediate result, it cannot be denied that the many consultations will create the basis for starting a new peace offensive at a later date." A Reuter report was given prime coverage on 26 October under the double-line, 3 inch heading, "Offer From Manila of Withdrawal From Vietnam." In the same issue, "Ge.," while surveying results of the meeting and recording US reaction, called the Manila Conference "a useful consultation."

"New US Offer," an editorial of 27 October, analyzed the US proposal, whose value, it said, was that "for the first time, the US has set a date for the withdrawal of American troops." But it also considered the offer "too weakly formulated to constitute a basis for actual peace negotiations." The editorial concluded: "The US has yet another secret weapon, namely the cessation of bombardments of North Vietnam. It has been used before without result, but it should be used again, if for no other reason than to emphasize that the withdrawal offer expresses a sincere US desire to pave the way for peace negotiations."

Anders Georg, another Washington correspondent, in his analysis headlined "Hope of Peace From Manila," in the 27 October issue, wrote: "The US proposal must be viewed in the light of the altered military situation that has made peace negotiations more attractive to Hanoi. ...It may be that the Manila Conference will mark a turning point on the road to a peaceful solution in Vietnam...we must expect that the discreet diplomatic dialogue henceforth will be concentrated on an exchange of views that will further interpret and clarify the various solutions."

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On 1 November, l'Humanite devoted about half a page to four articles attacking the US. The content of these articles can be deduced rather easily from the headlines, which were: "At Seoul, Last Stop on His Asian Tour, Johnson congratulates the South Korean Puppets on Their Participation in the War of Vietnam," "The Prestige of the US is Low in Western Europe," "South Korea, the 51st American State," "The Americans Expect to Stay for Many Years in South Vietnam."

On 4 November, l'Humanite reported on President Johnson's return to Washington with the snide comment that he was greeted by "several hundred individuals who had been driven to Dulles Airport in busses rented by the Democratic Party." The paper then went on to quote the New York Times as saying that the results of the President's trip "give little reason for self-congratulation. Peace in Vietnam certainly is not closer than when he left the US. The prospect is for a long war and one which will be intensified," and quoting further, repeated the New York Times' fear that President Johnson "may become the symbol of the defeat of the cause of peace", and that the current "long, bitter, and costly war" may degenerate into a "war of greater proportions."

After a single brief and largely factual news article on 2 November, l'Humanite returned to normal on 3 November with a biased news report originating in Anchorage and a second editorial by Yves Moreau, this one attuned to President Johnson's statement in Anchorage: "Difficult days lie ahead for us in Vietnam." Moreau rephrased parts of his 30 October editorial, and added some embroidery, but essentially it was the same message.

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Tamayo's copyright article from Kuala Lumpur, appearing in Clarín on 1 November, was titled "Exhortations for Peace Only a Monologue." This article reasoned that the anti-US and anti-Johnson activities of Peiping-controlled groups in Manila and Kuala Lumpur make it obvious that the US President could say anything and not be heard. "One thing is clear: none of the thousands of aggressive students in Manila or Kuala Lumpur will force US soldiers out of the Vietnamese fight against the Viet Cong and Hanoi." Philippine President Marcos' fervor to get Burma to be the seat of a peace conference is lamented as another case of whistling in the dark.

The "International Panorama" column of Clarín on 6 November described the President as satisfied with his trip and asserted that the Manila Conference gave Washington what it wanted; little, said the article, was expected but the lowest common denominator was found by seven countries with divergent opinions who put into writing something to serve as a basis for future negotiations. The article continued: "The promise to withdraw troops in 6 months establishes a useful principle which appears to be in line with the Geneva agreements, which General Ky has repeatedly called 'obsolete.' This public promise will help Moscow in pressuring Hanoi to hasten to seek a negotiated solution, pressures which will be correlatives to new Soviet Bloc offers to aid North Vietnam with arms and materiel valued at billions of dollars."

Clarín carried a far more critical article (also copyrighted) in its issue of 28 October, titled "Dramatic Touch in Johnson's Trip" and filed by Horacio Estol from New York. This article criticized the President's "melodramatic" trip to Cam Ranh Bay as a gesture related to the 8 November elections in the US and berated the Manila Conference for not being truly representative of Asia. The US elections were termed a time "when the electorate will pronounce itself indirectly, but basically, on Johnson's work of governing." The lack of Asian representation at the conference was said to be like having an "inter-American conference sponsored by three little countries and not attended by the US, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and other large countries." Estol chided the President for saying that "one after the other, the countries of Asia are ridding themselves of the slogans of narrow nationalism," arguing that nationalism is the most powerful force in the world today -- "even in the US, but even more so in the Far and Middle East." The article concluded that the President can gain an advantage from the trip "if he remembers the words of Philippine President Marcos when he said: 'The US should understand that to go against the sea of Asian nationalism is worse than impractical and, moreover, is highly dangerous.'"

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Brazil

For the period 21 through 30 October, the Brazilian press reviewed was primarily concerned with domestic issues. However, several Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo newspapers gave extensive wire service coverage to the President's trip, although in most papers it was not front-page news. During this period, of the ten papers scanned, three Rio de Janeiro and one Sao Paulo dailies carried editorial comments.

The conservative and pro-US Rio de Janeiro daily O Globo recognized the Manila and the New Delhi conferences as important. However, after its initial sentence, the editorial of 24 October was suspicious of the intentions of two New Delhi participants: Tito and Nasir. "Quite obviously," the editorial stated, "the peace sought by the tripartite at New Delhi is not the same as that aspired for by the participants at Manila." The editorial pointed out that Nasir abandoned economic development plans for his country in order to arm it and suggested that the UAR is taking advantage of the prestige afforded by the neutralist New Delhi Conference to ensure continuing aid from the West; "as for Tito, although not necessarily harboring belicose intentions, he opportunely oscillates between Moscow and Washington, thus receiving aid from both." The writer observed: "If it were not for the presence of the highly respected Indira Gandhi, who, contrary to the other two members is a strong believer of Mahatma's nonviolence policy, the New Delhi Conference would degenerate into a trivial meeting. Some compensatory agreement might be reached with her presence."

The Rio de Janeiro independent, leftist daily Correio da Manha published a commentary by Paulo de Castro in its 25 October issue which was highly critical of both the Manila and New Delhi conferences. It is his belief that North Vietnam should be granted independence along with territorial integrity and should be allowed to reunite the country. In Castro's words, this presupposes the complete withdrawal of US forces and those of its allies from Vietnam either during, before, or after the negotiations. Castro's argued that the Vietnamese conflict cannot be settled by persons who represent today's power blocs; "the decision must move away from even the third world concept and be entrusted to all countries." He called for a "new simple doctrine with new and wide leadership" by which the so-called noncommitted nations can take action effectively. Newton Carlos writing in the 30 October issue of the same newspaper was highly cynical of Johnson's ability to carry out the promises made at Manila. He further pointed out that these overtures are merely a rehash of former ones which have already been condemned by world opinion including US citizens. His main thesis is that the only way open to negotiations was complete cessation of the bombings in North Vietnam.

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"With regard to the Manila conspiracy, the Mongolian people and their government view with contempt the new step to escalate the colonial war of the American imperialists against the Vietnamese people who are trying to maintain peace and prosperity in Southeast Asia by defending their own freedom and independence.

"People in Asia and throughout the world are making demands that positive steps be taken to put an end to the aggressive war which is going on in Vietnam.

"The world public demands the immediate cessation of the barbarous bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the immediate removal of all foreign troops and weapons from South Vietnam, and the recognition of the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own domestic affairs.

"The Vietnamese problems should be decided not only on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, but also on the policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the published statements of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, which is the only legal representative of the South Vietnamese people."

#### North Korea

During the period 20-29 October, the North Korean press devoted considerable coverage to denouncing the Manila Conference and the President's Asian trip. The press was particularly concerned about the President's trip to South Korea.

The 20 October issue of P'yongyang Times, in reporting President Johnson's impending visit to South Korea, declared that "Johnson and his stooges in Seoul are actively preparing for the formation of a new front in South Korea, while mobilizing more troops and other potential of South Korea for the Vietnam War." According to the report, "Johnson is scheming to escalate the Vietnam war which America started and dares to try to spread its flames to Korea. This is a reckless act; should the US imperialists venture it, they will only hasten their doom. It would be well for Johnson and his aides to think seriously before taking another step forward,"

Nodong Sinmun of 21 October reported that Johnson met citizens demonstrating against the war in Vietnam while he was in Honolulu on 17 October. "He also met a similar response in Wellington. Moreover, students in Manila issued a proclamation denouncing the Manila Conference." Nodong Sinmun of 22 October called the Manila Conference a conference to escalate the Vietnam war; the article was part of a series of anti-US articles under the title "Let Us Turn the Main Spearhead Toward the US Imperialists Who Are Escalating Their War of Aggression in Vietnam."

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During the period 26 October - 3 November, Socialist Arbeiter Zeitung gave almost daily front-page coverage to President Johnson's trip, the Manila Conference, and related matters, but all of the articles were brief, factual reports, uniformly objective and impartial in tone. No editorials or interpretive articles were printed in this period.

Thus, Arbeiter Zeitung, which published two interpretive articles before the Conference both favorable to the US, published no interpretive article or editorial after the Conference.

During the period 22 October - 4 November, Die Presse gave almost daily coverage to President Johnson's trip and related matters, often putting the stories on the front page, and in several cases supporting them with photographs. The stories were primarily factual, with the little interpretation generally sympathetic toward the US. There were two formal commentaries, both written by Die Presse's Washington correspondent, Marlene Manthey. The first of these, in the issue of 22/23 October, undertook to provide background for understanding the Manila Conference. Manthey found that the decline of "Rule Britannia" had been accompanied by the rise of "Rule America" in the area covered by the President's trip and represented at the Manila Conference. In essence, she said, these countries now look to the US for economic, diplomatic and military support instead of to Britain. Manthey briefly described the attitude of each of the Manila Conference participants toward the Vietnam war and mentioned the keywords of the Conference as "New Charter for the Pacific" and "Marshal Plan for Asia." She concluded that these gleaming plans had little chance of immediate application since escalation seemed more likely than prompt termination of the war.

Manthey's second article, in the 4 November issue, was entitled "The Pacific as an American Sea: The US and Its Allies in the Austral-Asian Area Determined to Have Victory." She interpreted President Johnson's trip as a pledge to stand firmly behind his Asian commitments, citing particularly his comments on the Chinese test of a rocket with nuclear warhead. While not expecting an invasion of North Vietnam, Manthey interpreted the stand taken by President Johnson and other leaders of the alliance as indicating that the war will be intensified as necessary to bring victory, and that the US is prepared for a long struggle to oppose Communism in the Pacific area.

From 22 October through 1 November, Volksblatt (People's Party organ) carried almost daily coverage of President Johnson's trip, the Manila Conference and related matters. Many of the stories were on the front page, and several were accompanied by photos, but all were very brief, and neutral in tone. There were no editorials or interpretive articles.

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Sweden

The most charitable thing that the Swedish press reviewed could say about the President's trip and the Manila Conference was that they provided nothing new, outside of unifying the Allies. The Manila Communique was said to be "non-committal," "vacuous," and in need of clarification. US policy in Vietnam was criticized as being "stagnant" and the "thinkers" in Washington were seen as being in a trap. The US Congressional elections were seen as a motive behind the President's trip. Additional coverage of the President's daily activities was still provided by the wire service dispatches in two of the Stockholm dailies, Liberal Dagens Nyheter and Conservative Svenska Dagbladet, both reviewed through 4 November.

Sven Oste wrote two articles in Dagens Nyheter on the prospects for and the outcome of the Manila Conference. In the first article, in the paper's 24 October issue, Oste analyzed the prospects for peace as against the continuation of an escalated war in Vietnam, as well as the role of the Asian Allies and their stand on the war and peace efforts in Vietnam. Oste noted that President Johnson and the other participants of the Manila Conference had repeatedly stated that nothing dramatic was to be expected from the Conference. The writer thought that these warnings were issued possibly to guard against a negative reaction which might arise from the disappointment that the Conference had not produced the peace initiative hoped for. Instead, Oste saw the Conference as "a manifestation, a symbol, and perhaps more significant for forming opinion in the US than for shaping developments in Vietnam." Oste saw the Conference as being significant in that it showed the world that the US was not isolated and that numerous Asian states defended the war as an attempt to stop Communist aggression in all of Southeast Asia. Oste felt that the Conference would satisfy the Allies by giving them an opportunity to voice their opinions as equal partners and would provide them with the joint responsibility which they have not had in the past two years, when US military escalation as well as peace efforts have been conducted without any formal deliberations with them.

The writer noted that on the eve of the Conference substantial differences existed among the six Asian Allies, mainly concerning the conditions for peace. He saw South Vietnam, Thailand and South Korea as representing the hard line, while the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand favored the soft line of concessions including ending the bombings in North Vietnam and pursuing negotiations with Hanoi and the FNL. Oste also felt that Hanoi was not prepared to respond at this time to any peace feelers but would be keeping its eye on the US elections hoping to find some indication of the US voter's dissatisfaction with the President's Vietnam policy.

On 26 October, Sven Oste wrote his second article in Dagens Nyheter on the Manila Conference, saying that, as expected, the conference produced a "peace plan" or in any case, "an attempt to clarify the conditions" set by the US for a settlement of the Vietnam conflict. Oste regretted that

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Tunisia

A survey of the Tunis progovernment dailies al-Sabah and al-'Amal, the independent daily La Presse de Tunisie, and the independent weekly Jeune Afrique, for the general period 22 October-4 November, revealed that considerable attention was given to the President's trip and to the Manila Conference. Coverage consisted mainly of factual reports by various news agencies, the Tunisian News Agency (TNA) especially, which were generally favorable to the US. Of the newspaper reviewed, the coverage of al-'Amal was more extensive and greater in depth. The 25 October edition carried a lengthy feature article on the opening of the Manila Conference with emphasis on the opening speeches, particularly those of President Johnson and Cao Ky. Another feature article in the 26 October issue, titled "America Prepared to Withdraw its Forces from Vietnam Within 6 Months," reported the six points of the conference for peace in Asia and followed it up with a lengthy column on world press reactions from New York, London and Paris. The 27 October issue carried another lengthy news article on the conference, the President's trip to Vietnam, and photographs of the conference participants. The 28 October issue carried press comments made by the foreign press, including those of the US, Great Britain, the USSR, and France.

The coverage by La Presse de Tunisie was also of a factual nature, with commentary appearing in the form of captions accompanying the reports, which usually appeared on the front page. The paper's attitude was indicated in such captions as "Johnson in Canberra: Australia is the Objective of the Communists," "From Manila to New Delhi: Where are the Chances for Negotiation? Those Invited to Manila Seek Ways to Peace," "Sudden Trip to Vietnam: Johnson Decorates Rangers and Pilots at Cam Ranh," "The Essential Decision at Manila: A Policy of Cooperation and National Construction," and "Kuala Lumpur Won't Lift a Finger to Help Washington." Carried on the paper's back page on 3 November was an article by Georges Anderson titled "The Johnson Voyage in Asia May be Positive in the Long Term." The paper concluded its coverage with a 4 November report from Anchorage titled "Johnson Wishes to Form a Non-Communist Association in Asia."

The 30 October issue of Jeune Afrique carried a factual item on the President's departure for the Far East. The concluding sentence of the report stated, "Of course, the President is increasing his peaceful pronouncements. In fact, he has gone as far as smiling faintly in China's direction. A sickly smile."

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## AFRICA

A review of the available press of 28 African countries for the general period 14 October-12 November revealed much heavier coverage of the President's Far East trip than during the previous reporting period. Although editorial commentary as such was comparatively slight, many articles were presented in such a way that they could be characterized as being of an interpretive nature. Moreover, although coverage of the event in most countries was devoted mainly to straightforward factual reporting, several countries did present their reports in a way favorable to the US. These countries were Gabon, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. On the other hand, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Algeria, especially the latter, took a more hostile attitude and expressed a negative view of the trip and the Manila Conference.

The available press for the following countries made no mention whatever of the trip: Burundi, Guinea, Mali, and Spanish Guinea.

The press of the following countries was not available for the period covered in this survey: Ethiopia, Mauritania and Rwanda. (English-speaking countries are not included in this survey.)

Algeria

The anti-West views of the Algiers French-language government mouthpiece El Moudjahid were quite evident in its slanted coverage of the President's trip. The paper, scanned from 22 October through 4 November, called the trip "Johnson's electoral campaign in Asia" and a "show," and took pains to report any unfavorable aspects, such as the paint-throwing demonstrations, and pictures such as one showing purportedly South Vietnamese women and children "being led away" by "US forces of aggression during a mopping-up operation." The paper also carried Hanoi statements, transmitted by the Vietnam News Agency, labelling the Manila Conference a "maneuver, a farce doomed to an ignominious failure." At another point, the paper observed that during the "entire trip" the President had spoken words of peace and promised aid "to friendly countries, ... but US bombings in Vietnam replace the beautiful words of peace and bombs take the place of argument."

The paper declared in an editorial on 25 October that the conference was "doomed to failure," and that "it is certain that this conference will not lead to an end of the conflict." It said that the President wants to internationalize the "aggression," and that he is planning to escalate the war. The paper used Vietnam News Agency reports to support its argument, and even cited a Gallup poll on US attitudes toward the conflict. After the Conference closed, the paper observed

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Pakistan

During the period 19 October - 4 November, The Pakistan Observer, a Dacca daily, gave rather extensive coverage of the President's journey, usually on the front page, reporting on the President's statements but also anti-US articles, e.g., the manifesto by Philippine University students denouncing the Manila Conference and Ho Chi Minh's rejection of the Manila Conference.

On 25 October issue editorialized "If President Johnson's reported offer made in Australia on 23 October to stop bombing North Vietnam and to produce a schedule withdrawal of our troops whenever the other side tells us that it is prepared to move toward peace in Vietnam, really dominates the Manila Conference and if the US reiterates the offer in a manner that will practically demonstrate that it is not just a design for evasion, the other side may have reason to respond."

Thailand

Thai newspapers surveyed from 18 October to 1 November stressed that President Johnson's visit, the first visit of any US president to Thailand, is a great honor. Several articles gave histories recalling various official visits in the 19th Century. Coverage was fairly heavy, averaging 3-4 articles per day. The 26 and 27 October issues [preceding the President's visit to Bangkok on 28 October] gave more than a full page each, mainly on preparations.

A column entitled "Critic's Viewpoint" and signed by "Satyanan" discussed the Manila Conference in the 23 October 1966 issue of the Thai-language Bangkok daily, Lak Muang. It said, "The most important problem for the meeting of seven nations is finding an end to the war in Vietnam or at least finding an answer for the single-minded Communists who want the US and its allies to withdraw troops first before any discussion of whether the other side will withdraw."

The 24 October editorial in Siam Rat, a Bangkok daily, said that President Johnson and the US were pleased that Asian countries were showing initiative in solving their own problems and that the President was coming to the Manila Conference to listen, to learn, and to help the new countries. It said that the US would yield to the needs of the other six countries and would not dictate to the other countries. "This is something new," the editorial said. "The US leaders are ready to trust Asian countries and are pleased to see them have ideas of their own and initiative."

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Comment on the trip in the 31 October issue of La Depeche du Cambodge was limited to headlines over regular AFP news dispatches, such as "Johnson Threatens the People's Republic of China" and "Violent Demonstrations Against Johnson in Kuala Lumpur."

### Ceylon

The Ceylon Daily News, a Colombo daily, between 20 October and 5 November reported almost daily on President Johnson's trip to the Far East, usually describing the "warm" welcome he received and summarizing his statements. The 30 October issue carried an editorial entitled "The Travelling Statesman," noting the mission of Mr. Harri-man to convince Asian leaders about US bona fides in relation to Vietnam and again emphasizing the fact that the Manila Conference achieved its major objective: It cleared up the suspicion and distrust among the disputants in Vietnam. The editorial also asked Hanoi to begin a similar dialogue with Peiping and Moscow on its intentions in seeking peace in Vietnam and requested Ceylon to promote such a dialogue.

### India

Between 20 October and 5 November, The Hindustan Times, a New Delhi daily, and The Hindu, a Madras daily, carried a number of factual articles on the President's trip and the Manila Conference, and The Hindustan Times published several commentaries.

After 28 October, President Johnson's trip was no longer front-page news, yielding to news on Communist China's fourth nuclear explosion and various riots and demonstrations taking place in India.

An unsigned commentary in The Hindustan Times of 21 October noted that if Hanoi did respond favorably to peace overtures it might put President Johnson in a difficult position, as Saigon was adamantly opposed to negotiations. In the 23 October issue of the same paper, an unsigned commentary stated that Australia viewed the conference as the possible beginning of a concerted drive for development in Asia. A similar commentary in the 24 October issue discussed the aims of the Manila Conference and expressed doubt that it would contribute much toward achieving peace.

The Hindu of 25 October reported Mrs. Gandhi's announcement that she had received a letter from President Johnson regarding the Manila Conference; The Hindustan Times of 26 October noted that Mrs. Gandhi had replied to this letter.

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that the "international press is pessimistic about the meager results at Manila," and pointed out that peace in Vietnam "does not seem to be the objective of American diplomacy." The paper also took the opportunity to report the de Gaulle remarks calling the conflict "odious."

The President's Thailand visit was buried in a page 4 article captioned, "Manila Peace Solution Demands Capitulation of the Vietnamese People," quoting Hanoi. It was pointed out that the visit was important "because the US maintains there [Thailand] from 30,000 to 40,000 soldiers and has innumerable airbases from which the air raids on North Vietnam and Laos are carried out." An extensive report was published on the demonstrations in Kuala Lumpur, while it was pointed out subsequently that Seoul was the only place where no demonstrations took place, "which was not the case in most other capitals visited."

With the paper's tendency toward the last few days of the trip to bury reports of the President's stops under large critical captions, the arrival in Washington was reported under a headline stating that "Haiphong is heroically resisting US air raids."

#### Angola

Of the two Luanda progovernment daily newspapers ABC Diario de Angola and O Comercio, which were reviewed for the period between 6 October and 4 November, the former reported on the trip almost daily beginning on 17 October, while the latter failed to mention it except on 24, 25, and 27 October, and then always on the back page. The articles in both papers appeared to be factual and objective throughout.

#### Cameroon

The four newspapers reviewed for the general period 16 October - 12 November were La Presse de Cameroun, Douala progovernment, pro-French daily; L'Unité, Yaounde weekly "official organ of the UNC" (Union Nationale Camerounaise, Cameroonese National Union); L'Effort Camerounais, Yaounde Catholic weekly; and La Semaine Camerounaise, Yaounde Protestant weekly. Factual coverage of the trip was rather frequent until approximately 6 November, whereas the few commentaries stressed the domestic political objectives of the President's trip and expressed pessimism concerning the probability that the Manila Conference would lead to peaceful negotiations concerning Vietnam.

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"The Presidents of the United States and the Philippines, the Foreign Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, and Thailand, as well as the heads of the puppet regimes of Seoul and Saigon met in Manila on 24-25 October 1966 at the so-called 'summit conference.'

"The aggressive nature of the conspiracy of the members of the conference, which was organized according to instructions from Washington, is quite clear. By using false information, the United States has concealed the true nature of the organization of the conference by stating that its aims are connected with peace, freedom, and progress. The discussions at the conference were centered around the escalation of the criminal war in Vietnam, as well as new and powerful measures to be undertaken in the aggressive work against the freedom and independence of the people in Southeast Asia.

"The text of the Manila Communique clearly pointed out that the members of the conference were prepared to continue the military and other activities in Vietnam for a long period of time on a large scale.

"In order to make their friends and accomplices take a more active part in the colonial war against the Vietnamese people, the authorities in Washington used this meeting to make the situation more tense.

"Before this conference, it should be carefully noted that the United States increased the military units in South Vietnam to such an extent that the number of soldiers has reached 336,000. In addition, those elements supporting the aggression of the United States against the Vietnamese people increased their military contribution by 3,000 soldiers before the conference, raising the total number to about 53,000. During 1967, the Government of the United States has decided to increase the number of soldiers occupying South Vietnam to 600,000, and is demanding additional cannon-fodder on the part of the yes-men who are connected with this situation.

"The members of the administration of the Government of the United States, by inviting their friends and accomplices to the Manila conspiracy, are attempting to reduce the disgust of the American people and the world public with regard to the future expansion of the war in Vietnam. By means of this wreckless activity, the United States is trying to conceal the fact that the government represents a minority. The Government of the United States, by referring to the conference as a 'Conference of Asian countries,' has been trying to create the impression that there is 'unanimity of opinion' on the part of Asian countries with regard to the aggressive policy of the United States in Southeast Asia. The purpose of this trick to deceive the world public is connected with the coming elections to Congress in the United States.

"This Conference of aggressors which has taken place in Manila is regarded with contempt by all well-meaning people throughout the world.

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Conservative Excelsior continued to give President Johnson's trip rather extensive coverage, using AP reports for the most part. Moreover, commentaries appeared almost daily.

Beginning on 25 October, an editorial, an article, and a cartoon taken from the Chicago Sun Times) all appeared on Excelsior's editorial page. The editorial asserted that for first time, the attempts being made by the US and its allies at Manila for negotiating a peace in Vietnam have found some response in the Communist world. The article by Ramon de Ertze Garamendi also dealt with the Manila Conference, but in a different light. Negotiations would be difficult, it stated, for the role of the United States in the Vietnamese War is complicated. The US is motivated by reasons of "politics, friendship, diplomacy, and interests." Even beyond this, the article continued, the United States, as the leading world power, has inherited the responsibility of watching over the world situation and has only entered the Vietnamese conflict "resignedly, and in fulfillment of its duty."

The Manila Conference continued to be an object of discussion, as evidenced by the editorial and commentary Excelsior on 26 October. The editorial believed that the agreement signed at the conference showed the US "true preoccupation with moral values, for as a tremendously powerful nation, capable of untold of destruction, it has chosen the path of peace." The commentary by Enrique Maza, which also appeared on the editorial page, took a more cynical look at the conference. While it viewed President Johnson's search for a peace formula as being "holy, good, and necessary," it added that "peace is not a question of formulas, especially not political formulas." To prove this, the article summarized Vietnam history from the time of the French colonial conquest of Indochina in the mid-19th Century to the present. Among the conclusions reached based on the history review were: the US is only one in a long list of powers which have intervened in Vietnam; France has the least right today to say anything about the Vietnamese question; and the Saigon government, and not that of Hanoi, is the true government. Although these conclusions supported the US position, the article did give one final warning that peace in Vietnam should not be an international political game.

Three commentaries were published in Excelsior on 27 October. Ramon de Ertze Garamendi once again was the author of one, claiming that nothing was resolved at the Manila Conference, for removal of troops from Vietnam by one side is contingent upon removal by the other side, and the division of the 17th parallel will continue in force until free elections are guaranteed. These two decisions are nothing new, concluded the item.

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## LATIN AMERICA

The Latin American press in the general period 25 October-8 November continued its heavy coverage of President Johnson's Asian trip, although in many countries other news of local and international interest pre-empted the prime space afforded this topic in the previous 10-day period. With the exception of the Dominican Republic and Guatemala, there was extensive editorial comment in the press of 18 Latin American countries (Paraguay and Haiti are not included), again Mexico leading in volume.

Editorial opinion was voiced on every facet of the trip, the Manila Conference, and the war in Vietnam. The non-Communist press generally took a cautiously optimistic view that the Manila Conference could lead to peace in Vietnam. (Representative of this view was an article appearing in both the Mexican and Nicaraguan press expressing the hope that the conference would lead to a peace conference "where all interested parties are represented.") The leftist and Communist press continued its vitriolic attacks on the trip in general, the President personally, the "war council of the US and its puppets" in Manila, and "continued Yankee imperialist aggression" in Vietnam.

Argentina

In the Buenos Aires press, prime attention shifted from President Johnson's Asian trip to other news of local and international interest in the period 27 October-11 November. The five dailies reviewed continued their factual wire service coverage of the trip and Manila Conference; editorial comment for the most part was favorable to the President's efforts to seek peace in Vietnam, although no expectation of immediate results was voiced. Two issues of the pro-Communist and anti-US weekly Propositos carried scathing attacks on the President, one labeling his trip as having much of the Odyssey "although not exactly Homeric in style" and demanding that the Vietnamese decide their own fate "with no foreign interference and soldiers."

Independent Clarín carried major wire service stories and photographs on the trip and conference under factual headlines in all issues from 27 October through 6 November, when it dropped the subject. This daily also led the Buenos Aires press in volume of commentary on the subject; two copyrighted articles on the conference were filed by the paper's correspondent Cristobal Tamayo. One, on 27 October, titled "Manila Talked; Now Hanoi Should Do So," argued that the Manila conferees "offered peace without begging and proclaimed their unity. "Thus far," he observed, "Hanoi answers only with insults"; therefore, he reasoned, continued escalation in Vietnam can be expected "unless before the undeniable superiority of the seven, Moscow can persuade Ho to seek other roads." Writing from Manila, the author felt that, "violent steps by China are at this point improbable."

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Mozambique

The available issues of the Diario de Mocambique, Beira pro-government daily newspaper, reviewed for the period 6-29 October, provided fairly regular coverage of the President's trip and of the Conference, beginning on 17 October. All of the articles, submitted by the AFP, were consistently objective in reporting the trip. They all appeared on the back, or international-news, page of the paper.

Niger

Two Niamey newspapers were reviewed for the general period 28 October-12 November: the government daily Le Temps du Niger and the government weekly Le Niger. The latter made no reference whatsoever to the President's trip or to the Manila Conference.

The 25 October issue of Le Temps du Niger carried brief statements from the speeches made at Manila and mentioned the student demonstrations against President Johnson. On 26 October, reference was made to the Manila Conference joint communique, with seven small photographs of the leaders who attended the conference. The issue of 27 October reprinted an article from a Paris newspaper entitled "After the Manila Conference." Between 28 and 31 October, several small items described President Johnson's visit to Thailand. The latter was referred to as "a huge American base." The Thais, however, were said by the paper to be concerned about changing the idea that they were dependent on the US. The visit was nevertheless called a "diplomatic victory" for President Johnson. The 2 and 3 November issues carried small items which announced President Johnson's visit to South Korea and his arrival in Alaska. On 4 November, using information from Paris, the newspaper reported on the President's return to Washington, and the remarks which he made at that time about the objectives of the Manila Conference.

Reunion Island

Of the available issues of Temoignages, St Denis daily newspaper of the Reunionese Communist Party, reviewed for the period 6-29 October, only the 24 and 27 October issues contained any mention of the President's trip. The 24 October issue asserted that "one can understand Johnson's statement, as he visits his accomplices in the Far East, when he calls the situation satisfactory while simultaneously admitting that it is impossible to win the war against the Vietnamese people." The article closed by noting additionally that "Johnson has a number of other reasons to worry, too," but failed to say what such reasons might be. The 27 October issue reported the agreement reached at Manila calling for the US and its allies to withdraw from Vietnam "within 6 months after the patriots have laid down their arms," and concluded by asking, "Just whom does the US think it is kidding?"

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commented on the President's trip. On 25 October, an article from Manila announced that although there was some mention of a "reconciliation" being made at the Conference, any such reconciliation would depend "either upon an agreement among the various South Vietnamese factions or upon an agreement with the Vietcong," and concluded that "such an agreement still appears far off."

An article from Manila, accompanied by an ANSA/UPI telephoto of the President greeting some Filipinos, was published by Avanti! on 26 October. It headlined the US promise to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam within 6 months "if the North Vietnamese would do the same."

The 27 October issue of the paper reported on the President's trip to South Vietnam on the preceding day, and quoted the statement by Van Thieu that the Saigon government would "request the departure of the Allied troops when all the conditions for peace have been 'completely fulfilled.'"

On 1 November, Avanti! reported on the President's arrival in Seoul, and printed an ANSA/UPI telephoto showing him as he was being greeted by an enthusiastic crowd there. An interview that Ho Chi Minh had granted a French periodical quoted him as saying that only on the basis of his "four points" could an agreement be reached in Vietnam, and that he would call for help from foreign volunteers if it should become necessary.

The last item to appear relative to the President's trip was that of 3 November, when Avanti! reiterated Ho Chi Minh's intransigence and the President's statement that "no miracles are to be expected in Vietnam."

l'Unita, reviewed for the period from 24 October to 7 November began commenting on 25 October with a rather long article by Alberto Jacoviello, who derided the sincerity of the President's statement calling for an "Asia for the Asians," pointing out that there are thousands of US troops in Vietnam, "which, unless we are mistaken, is still in Asia." The Conference, according to the article, was merely an attempt to involve "the great Asian nations" in the Vietnamese "adventure."

An article in the 26 October issue of l'Unita related the Allied conditions for withdrawal from Vietnam and said that they are posited in such a way as to enable the "puppet government of Cao Ky to surmount all resistance from the people." The US documents and declarations relative to the war and to the Conference were described as being "the usual profusion of words that the US uses to try to give the impression of being sensitive to Asia's problems, while hiding their oppressive and warlike efforts." This issue of the paper also printed an article by "a.j.", who saw the Manila Conference as another step toward enlarging the war. Scorn was heaped on the nations attending the Conference for

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in Manila and Moscow" concluded that "The Manila summit was a triumph for Lyndon Johnson while the Moscow meeting was a failure for Kosygin and Brezhnev." The column said that since both meetings had as their objectives to unify their positions toward the Vietnam problem, "The Manila summit, attended by President Johnson and the Chief Executives of the other six principal non-Communist countries involved in the Vietnam war, has strengthened the relations among those who form a common front against Red China. On the other hand, the meeting of the Communist hierarchy, including the leaders of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, and Cuba, was not able to unify these nations to face the China of Mao Tse-tung, despite the efforts of USSR Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin and CPSU Secretary-General Leonidas Brezhnev." The columnist also observed that the rejection by North Vietnam, Communist China, and the USSR of the latest U.S. sponsored peace proposals and the absence of counterproposals by the Communist Bloc casts doubt on the Communist desire for peace. Four days earlier, Correo on 26 October had carried an editorial titled "For Peace in Vietnam" which had hailed the New Delhi meeting of Tito, Nasir, and Indira Gandhi, saying "It is urgent for all nations to collaborate effectively in search of peace."

During the period surveyed, the Aprista mouthpiece, La Tribuna, published no editorial comment on the Manila Conference or President Johnson's trip.

#### Uruguay

Although the upcoming elections and other domestic issues dominated the Montevideo press during the period 27 October-10 November, the 11 dailies reviewed continued to follow the President's trip. With very little comment and less prominent space afforded the subject than in the period 16-26 October, these dailies relied on the major wire service dispatches under generally factual or sympathetic headlines to follow each leg of the journey, from Cam Ranh Bay until the President's arrival in Washington.

List 15 Colorado Accion was the only non-Communist daily to present editorial opinion, this in its issue of 6 November. The "Seven Days in the Week" column, signed "XYZ," discussed the high cost of the Vietnam war under the heading "The Price of Life and Death." This article termed the Asian trip "a brilliant personal success for President Johnson, despite isolated incidents of aversion and unpleasant demonstrations." It observed that the President's view of future peaceful cooperation in Asia is not shared by Moscow and Peiping, "or even President de Gaulle."

Even the Uruguayan Communist Party organ El Popular maintained editorial silence on the trip and the Manila Conference, the sole exception being a 27 October editorial titled "The Effrontery of Johnson"

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USSR

Central and provincial press coverage of President Johnson's Asian trip through 10 November was light.

Prior to the Manila Conference, Soviet correspondents stressed the "war council" nature of the meeting; in the post-conference period they emphasized, instead, the US "idea of creating all kinds of 'regional' organizations in Asia."

Correspondent V. Kudryavtsev discussed the reason for President Johnson's trip in a 3 November Izvestiya article (page 2). He stated that "it was necessary to sound out other Asian countries for the purpose of scraping up 'regional' pseudo-neutral organizations to bolster the bankrupt SEATO and to throw a peace-making weight on the scales of the approaching elections in the US. That is why Washington is now busy with the idea of creating all kinds of 'regional' organizations in Asia. One of them is AZPAC (Council of Asian and Pacific Ocean Countries). The main problem of the US is to attract more Asian countries into the American orbit. But this is only another problem which cannot be solved.... Asian countries see even more clearly now how the long-range expansion plans of American ruling circles appear on the background of the Vietnamese adventure."

E. Baskakov, writing in the 3 November issue of Sovetskaya Rossiya (page 3), discussed the formation of the ANZUS, SEATO and AZPAC organizations. He then went on to state:

"But I would like to emphasize that the shaping of a new aggressive bloc loomed on the political horizon of Asia as a result of the Manila Conference. No, it has not yet been officially formed. It seems, the American strategists preferred not to be tied up with complex parliamentary procedure.

"But let us glance, however, at the declaration signed in Manila... Is not the magnificent phrase concerning the 'common fate and hopes' a fitting preamble for the pact? These very words begin the documents formulating the creation of ANZUS, SEATO, AZPAC, and other aggressive coalitions. Let us look into the text of the communique of the Manila Conference. Does this not speak of the 'constant consultations between the participant countries' on the level of ambassadors, ministers of foreign affairs, and even heads of state? Is this not a new bloc, in which the United States, the number one aggressor, coerced all those who are today taking an active part in the American war in Vietnam?

"Obviously the composition of the yet unnamed military group serving the aggression of the United States is, as before, not great. At the Manila Conference, there were no representatives of countries where

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editorial comment. Brief comment in an interpretive survey in the 22 October issue stated that, notwithstanding the President's trip, "the Vietnamese problem is just as involved as it was before." The article added that the President, "realizing that an effective peace settlement could hardly be expected," emphasized "the possibilities for the economic development of the countries concerned, with US cooperation."

A longer commentary, from the paper's Washington correspondent, appearing in the 24 October issue of Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, stated in substance that President Johnson is seeking for the US an Asian role which is hardly realistic, given the present circumstances. The President's "visionary goal," which the correspondent said was inspired by "his private specialist in geopolitics, Rostow," is, "if not a Marshall Plan for Asia, at least the formation of a club for cooperation-toward-peace among all of the countries of the Pacific and of Asia." This man's burden, "somewhat similar to 'what Roosevelt and Truman wanted for Europe in the 1940's and 1950's, and what Kennedy subsequently wanted for South America with his Alliance for Progress.'" The correspondent said that the US basis for such an ambitious goal is considered too limited, first of all "because the area of the Pacific is by no means all of Asia, and Australia and New Zealand, in contrast to Rostow's view, assume too defensive a position to be able to give leadership to Asians." Furthermore, "a club of small Asian countries supporting South Vietnam is considered an insufficient counterweight to China, even if Indonesia should eventually become a member of the club." Here the correspondent interjected that "millions will hardly draw encouragement from the fact that 400,000 Americans are unable to put an end to a primitive guerrilla war in a small country." Finally, the correspondent concluded this part of his argument, it is clear from the reaction of the American people to both the Korean war and the war in Vietnam that they "cannot be brought to accept Johnson's new 'manifest destiny' for their own country."

An editorial headed "Three Summit Conferences", in the 25 October issue of Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, mentioned the conferences in Moscow, New Delhi and Manila, and observed that "the subject of the war in Vietnam will come up at all three." In regard to the Manila Conference the editorial said that President Johnson is "keeping all doors open" and is "emphasizing peace plans," as well as the improvement of the lot of the Vietnamese people and regional cooperation among the Southeast Asian countries. The editorial said that "first reports indicate that Johnson has had some success," and mentioned in particular the fact that Premier Ky has taken "a more flexible attitude" in his approach to North Vietnam. After pointing out that the Hanoi regime is "realistic enough to realize that the tide has turned," in spite of the fact that it still refuses to negotiate, the editorial concluded by observing that "the nature of the war and China's internal difficulties render Hanoi much more dependent on the Soviet Union than on Peking."

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La Presse de Cameroun provided factual coverage in its 26 and 30-31 October, 1-3 and 5 November issues, cutting off its coverage with its 6 November issue. A largely factual report in the 27 October issue asserted that the President's visit to Cam Ranh "is a normal gesture, and with the forthcoming legislative elections, now seems a necessity." The 3 November issue, which carried a largely factual report noting President Johnson's and the South Korean leaders' joint communique and also General Ky's decision to cancel his US trip, commented that "all these factors seem to portend an intensification of the war."

The 26 October-2 November issue of L'Unite made no mention of the trip. However, the 2-9 November issue carried a largely factual article by Rene Ngapeth, who commented that the President's trip "shows that Asia with its Vietnamese war has replaced Europe as the major concern of the US government" and that "the principal objective of the trip... is to prove to American public opinion...and also world public opinion that the US has more friends than enemies in Asia despite the war it is waging in Vietnam." Ngapeth added it is hoped by "the Asian trip" to prove that the President is bent on continuing his peace offensive despite the lack of response which it brings from the opposing camp."

The 16 October and 6 November issues of L'Effort Camerounais provided no coverage of the topics reviewed. The 23 October issue carried a commentary by Jean Ambassa, who stressed that "the difficulty about this round table is that it brings together only partners. Neither the Viet Cong nor Hanoi will be represented at Manila, and for cause: their point of view on peace is far from being acceptable to the other delegations." The 30 October issue carried a front-page article by J. Ada, who asserted that "the escapade of the American Chief Executive has a pre-electoral odor which does not deceive anyone. The clearest objective is to make the American voter see that his country is not alone in the face of the Communist Hydra." Ada also asked what could be expected from the new US initiative and added, "From the first stage on the path to peace, the White House pilgrim has been bent on reassuring public opinion and has stated that a miracle must not be expected. However, it can be said that the President has already expressed two contradictory themes because just a few weeks ago he was making a big thing of the conference."

The 1 November issue of La Semaine Camerounaise provided only one short factual item on the trip.

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Another Nodong Simmun editorial, on 29 October, entitled "Murderer Johnson, Don't Set Your Bloodstained Feet in South Korea," expounded the same vehement protests and asserted that the purpose of President Johnson's visit to Seoul was "to get more puppet troops necessary for the Vietnam war and to more deeply involve the Pak Chong-hui puppet clique in aggression in Asia, as well as to intensify provocative plots for a new war in Korea."

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Upper Volta

The Ouagadougou government daily Bulletin Quotidien d'Information, reviewed for the general period 25 October-10 November, carried factual articles through 28 October. The 25 October issue carried two articles, one on the Manila Conference and another which pointed out that there were some divergencies among the Allies concerning the final wording of the joint communique. The text of the communique was published in the 26 October issue of the paper. In its 27-28 October issue, the paper briefly announced the President's departure from Manila, made a few references to President Marcos' speech, and cited excerpts from President Johnson's speech at Bang Saen.

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the UN while the USSR is working quietly for a peaceful solution to prevent Chinese hegemony in Asia. "President Johnson's trip to the Pacific," the article ended, "is a historic event. It signals the definite crystallization of US international policy in the United States of the Pacific."

El Mundo, a conservative daily published by the anti-AD government Capriles chain, while providing the smallest amount of wire service coverage, published an editorial on "The Meaning of Manila" by its Barcelona correspondent, Jaime Miravittles, on 3 November. The correspondent believed that, while the "get tough" stance adopted by Thailand and Korea appears to have lessened the chances for a policy agreement among the conferees, in actuality, the conference ... the desired results: an expressed desire for peace within a framework of an authentic neutralization of Vietnam and a promise of efforts to pacify and bring about economic progress to the entire war-torn area. The article concluded, however, that it was impossible to determine whether the conference was a step forward or a step backward because the world is not privy to unpublicized conversations among the conferees nor to private opinions of world powers not present in Manila.

On 3 November, La Republica reprinted Oliver Todd's article from Le Nouvel Observateur entitled "Johnson No Longer Believes in a Disaster in Asia." The article was somewhat skeptical of the President's expressed altruistic goals, stressing the fact that elections were near in the U.S., but was generally favorable to both him and the conference in general.

La Republica also published an article entitled "Johnson's Only Obstacle Is China" by its Washington correspondent, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, on 8 November. The article, which dealt primarily with European reaction to U.S. intervention in Vietnam, began by stating that President Johnson returned from his politico-military tour confident of his showing in the 8 November elections and anticipating the establishment of the U.S. as the most powerful force in Asia within the next few years. The article stressed the President's desire to isolate and weaken China by gathering enough votes to block its admission to the UN again this year. The rest of the article was devoted to the increasing disillusionment of the free European countries with U.S. aims in Asia, as evidenced by critical reaction of the European press to the Manila Conference.

... selected for ...

Predictably, the unofficial Communist Caracas weekly, Que, gave the President's trip scant, unfavorable coverage. On 28 October, the weekly gleefully reprinted Philippine demonstrators' cries of "Asian Butcher" directed at the President, along with an extremely unflattering cartoon depicting President Johnson wearing a wreath of skulls around his neck and captioned: "Hey, Johnson, how many children did you murder today?"

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the Summit' which he is going to support in the Philippine capital will at the same time serve to plan a radical military solution in the rather probable event of a new failure in the attempt to negotiate with Hanoi and Peking." J. L. Gomez Tello stated that "... the Communists ... were mobilized all along Johnson's trip to demonstrate against him .... These revolutionary gymnastics anticipate the reply which Hanoi will give to any offer of negotiation which may be formulated." Guy Bueno, Arriba's New York correspondent, asserted that General Westmoreland's request for additional troops "foretells the nature of the decisions which will be made in the Philippines." He also commented: "Is it believed that this kind of Asian Marshall Plan which Johnson had presented already and which was rejected is enough to disarm the 'Vietcong' guerrillas? In the hypothesis that Hanoi will favor the plan for economic cooperation with all Southeast Asia, Peking and Moscow will reject it: the war in Vietnam is very advantageous for them and their interest lies in prolonging it." The Efe news agency special service asserted "What is at stake for the US in Vietnam is not certainly to win or lose the war but the nature and extent of the US presence in all Asia and the future .... In the present situation and under the present conditions, we find it difficult to believe that the US is interested in a rapid peace for Vietnam, despite the 'Summit' Conference in Manila."

The 26 October issue of Arriba provided two commentaries. Guy Bueno asserted that "Despite the proposals made by the communique, it does not seem that Manila has really taken a step forward on the path to peace." J. L. Gomez Tello said that "... in reality the most tangible result of the Manila Conference has been an outline of a new regional pact, which is intended, according to all probabilities, to replace the agonized SEATO." The 2 November issue also carried two commentaries. Guy Bueno expressed the opinion that "In spite of the hypothetical nature of the troop withdrawal proposal, it cannot be doubted that it constitutes a small step forward on the path toward peace, since it forms part of the two conditions stipulated by the enemy." J. L. Gomez Tello pointed out that Johnson's stop in South Korea had "... considerable value for him. He was able to see the results of a policy of firmness in the face of the aggressor ... he encountered a spirit rather different from that of the Yankee Senores who favor abandonment and would be capable of presenting the very last bit of Vietnam to the Communists." Writing in the 3 November issue, J. L. Gomez Tello stated: "The best trump card given to President Johnson during his long 40,000 kilometer trip ... was provided by the Communists ... the fourth Chinese nuclear bomb -- which can be transported by rocket...." The 6 November issue also carried a commentary by J. L. Gomez Tello, which stated: "Johnson's main contribution to the election consisted in the trip through the Pacific and Asia, in his speeches in Honolulu, Manila, Bangkok, and above all in Seoul."

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The Fianarantsoa Catholic weekly Lumiere of 6 and 13 November were reviewed but only the former issue made mention of the trip in a brief front-page article titled "Johnson's Trip -- Meager Results." The author, whose name was not mentioned, said in this article that "it is certain that the trip did not excite as much interest as the President had expected." Moreover, it added, "The demonstrations in Australia and the Philippines to some extent tarnished the image of this trip that was supposed to demonstrate the unity of those peoples who are now fighting side by side against Communism in Vietnam." After stating that it had been hoped that the Conference would result in concrete steps toward peace in Vietnam, the article affirmed that no such steps had ensued, and that "the proposals included in the final communique fooled nobody, not even the Americans." It said in conclusion that the President "returned from the trip completely tired out, and the concrete results of the trip do not appear to have been in proportion to the efforts made to put it in the international eye."

#### Mauritius

The available issues of Le Mauricien, Port Louis opposition, anti-independence daily newspaper, between 25 October and 7 November, contained only factual articles, which appeared in the 25, 26, and 27 October issues, dealing with the President's trip. Each of the three articles was apparently a resume made available by Reuters.

#### Morocco

A 22 October-3 November survey of the dailies al-Anba' and al-'Alam revealed that coverage of President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference was generally favorable to the US and based on factual news articles. The 25 October issue of al-'Alam reported extensively on the opening of the conference with lengthy excerpts from the Marcos, Johnson, Cao Ky and Westmoreland speeches. Articles in the 26 and 30 October issues emphasized the Conference's peaceful intentions with regard to the fighting in Vietnam.

Al-Anba' carried two main international news articles on 27 and 28 October of which the first reported the 6-month withdrawal offer, while the second reported President Johnson's Vietnam speech about American determination to see the war through to its end. The 31 October edition of al-Anba' stated in a news analysis commentary that (1) President Johnson's trip did not negate the importance of the US Congressional elections but rather pointed up the priority position given the Vietnam situation by the Conference participants; (2) Europe, as a decisive area, is now second in importance to Asia and the former's main role is the support she can give to US policy in Asia; and (3) Washington is becoming more confident than recent political trends in Asia will favor US policy there.

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vast bases for the US; and to campaign for the coming elections.... Johnson thought everything would be fine, but wherever he went, people welcomed him by throwing toilet paper, wet paint, tomatoes, and rotten eggs at his car, and shouted 'Johnson is a murderer, US get out of South Vietnam!'. As a result, Johnson had a constant headache and many sleepless nights. However, more serious events occurred and scared him stiff.

"First, General Westmoreland and Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge invited him to visit South Vietnam but Johnson refused, fearing he might be welcomed by guerrillas. Westmoreland and Lodge insisted; he must come, or the GIs would think their supreme commander a coward. He must come, they reasoned, to prove to the Thieu-Ky clique that South Vietnam is a colony of the US. They promised to give Johnson all necessary protection.... However, during his visit, the aircraft carrier Oriskany caught fire and dozens of US pilots burned to death. This scared Johnson stiff.

"Second, while he was boasting in Thailand about the so-called success of the Manila Conference, he learned that President de Gaulle had held a press conference at which he refuted all Johnson's deceitful words. This political slap knocked Johnson off his guard.

"Third, on 27 October, the very day he boasted about the atomic strength of the US, China successfully tested a guided missile with a nuclear warhead. Johnson was scared to death for the third time.

"Fourth, on 1 November, the South Vietnam Liberation Army fired artillery shells into the National Day parade area. Johnson was scared stiff for the fourth time.

"Agence France Presse said that the attacks pointed to the inability of the US and its puppets to control even the areas close to Saigon. Nevertheless, Johnson and his flunkies continue to claim that the President's grand tour was a success."

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"American policy in Vietnam remains one-sided: it is subordinated, at present, exclusively to the desired American military victory," was Z. Brihta's conclusion in an article in Vjesnik of 2 November.

Borba of 3 November said that the American press had received the results of the President's tour with coolness, and then quoted the New York Times and James Reston to prove its point. The 4 November issue again quoted the New York Times to the effect that "the prospects are for a still longer and more extensive war." Vjesnik of the same date said that, although US commentators and official circles describe President Johnson's tour as triumphant, "this tour has served the pre-election campaign," and went on to say that now "50 more seats will be assured in Congress for the Democratic Party."

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## WESTERN EUROPE

As in the pervious period covered (Interim Survey), the West European press issued during the present review period reflected widely varying levels of interest in President Johnson's Far Eastern trip and in the Manila Conference, but only two of the 58 papers reviewed failed to make any mention of these subjects. In all cases, issues published after the conclusion of the Conference were reviewed, and in most cases, issues published from 5 to 10 days after the Conference were available. It is safe to say, therefore, that the major commentary of these papers on the Conference has been included in the survey in nearly all cases. Moreover, it appears unlikely that any papers which have still to make their major commentary will show a basic change from their already established positions. The Interim Survey showed that of 54 papers which carried at least one pertinent article, the attitudes toward the President, the US, and the Conference could be summarized as follows: favorable, 14; mixed or neutral, 26; unfavorable, 14 (including 10 Communist). The present survey includes the same 54 papers, plus two additional papers which offered no coverage at the time of the Interim Survey. The attitude of these 56 papers may be tabulated as follows: favorable, 18; mixed or neutral, 22; unfavorable, 16 (including 10 Communist). The Communist papers remained unanimously antagonistic. The others showed a mild trend away from the mixed or neutral group toward the two extremes, with the net change adding four to the favorable and two to the unfavorable group. In France and Italy, opinion appeared to be slightly more favorable; in West Germany, there was no apparent change.

It should be noted that inclusion in the favorable group does not necessarily mean that a paper considers either the President's trip or the Manila Conference a success. Several papers were included in this group because they show a consistently sympathetic and friendly attitude toward US policy and action, even when they do not consider them efficacious. A great majority of all papers reviewed considered that the Manila Conference did little or nothing to promote the prospects of peace, and several specifically called the declarations coming from the Conference a step backward from Ambassador Goldberg's speech at the UN.

Austria

During the period under consideration, which included papers from 26 October through 5 November, all of the four Austrian daily papers reviewed continued factual reporting on President Johnson's trip and on the Manila Conference at approximately the level of the previous period. Only independent Die Presse and Communist Volksstimme offered any interpretive or critical commentary.

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The same issue of Nhan Dan (27 October) described President Johnson's visit to Cam Ranh as follows: "The chief of the US war-mongers this afternoon stealthily landed at the Cam Ranh base and stayed there a little more than an hour on a quick, unannounced visit to South Vietnam, according to Western reports. The chief war criminal had to veil his stealthy flight in complete secrecy and use diversionary tricks to escape public attention. In Manila, according to the Associated Press, Johnson failed to appear on time for a scheduled speech at the Embassy and took the plane for Cam Ranh. He had his wife address the gathering in his place. In South Vietnam, before his arrival, Johnson had ordered the US commanders and puppet agents there to boost security measures at all US bases from Saigon to Da Nang. At Da Nang, where scores of journalists were expecting Johnson's arrival, Lewis Walt, commander of the US Marines in South Vietnam, suddenly took a plane for Cam Ranh to meet Johnson. Johnson's trip to South Vietnam surprised nobody, since he badly needed to give a lift to the sinking morale of the US troops there. But he was so afraid of the people's war in South Vietnam that he only dared to stay a little over an hour."

The 3 November Nhan Dan called the President's trip and the Manila Conference a "bitter political defeat for him and all the US aggressors." It then observed: "His 17 days abroad have only shed more light on his criminal intentions and have pointed up the very poor results of his trip.... The Manila Communique, with its brazen and insolent war blackmail, dismayed even many avowed satellites of the US.... The main goal of the trip was to press the satellites into taking a still more active part in the new US military adventures in Vietnam.... The President wanted to boost the role of his puppets in the countries he visited, but the result was quite the contrary: Johnson's presence and the welcome he received from his puppets have made their subserviency to the US still more conspicuous. The fact that the puppet regimes repressed, arrested, or killed many demonstrators who protested against Johnson aroused the hatred of the people in these countries. In Australia, New Zealand, and Malaysia, the pro-US authorities have been under heavy public censure.... Johnson's stealthy visit to US troops at Cam Ranh was a big insult to the Thieu-Ky clique. On the one hand, it showed that there was no security for the American troops and for the puppet administration and army. On the other hand, in the eyes of the Johnson clique, the so-called sovereignty of the Thieu-Ky clique was obviously of no concern."

Nhan Dan of 4 November carried an article signed "Noi That" (Truth Teller) and titled "Johnson Scared Stiff," which read as follows: "Johnson's main objectives were to discuss with the satellites ways and means of expanding the war in Vietnam and to ask them for more cannon fodder for the US; to force Thailand to push the building of

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The pro-Communist and anti-US weekly Propositos broke its silence of the previous weeks with highly critical articles by Joaquin Lazarte appearing on 27 October and 3 November. The 27 October article, "Lies," called the trip the most dangerous trip a US President has ever made -- "not for himself but for the world." The author maintained that the trip began "under the sign of the crime of Vietnam and of lying peaceful protests." "Continued aggression" while making peace probes is said to have resulted in "no one believing in the 'man from Texas.'" The trip and search for peace are linked with the November elections in the US as well as with the 1968 Presidential elections. The article concluded: "People must stay alert., close the door on any new senseless adventure, and force those who have brought the pain of death to Vietnam and created this tragic world situation to stew in their own juices of crime and lies."

"Manila," appearing in Propositos of 3 November, carried on in the same vein, alluding to the trip as an odyssey "although not exactly Homeric in style," and terming the culmination of this odyssey as being in Manilla, "seat of the tragicomic 'summit conference.'" The article predicted a worsening of the international situation in the coming months and demanded that the Vietnamese be able to freely decide their own fate, "without bombings, without a single foreign soldier on its soil, with no foreign interference."

Conservative daily La Prensa relied entirely on UP for coverage of the subject in the issues scanned for 27 October through 11 November, the only editorial comment appearing on 8 November with two editorials generally favorable to the President's peace attempts and expressing hope for the future of Vietnam. "The Difficult Peace" praised the President for his strong stand "talking directly to the Communists and the Republicans who demand abandonment of Vietnam." "Postwar Reconstruction Foreseen for Vietnam" asserted: "No matter how the war ends, this third phase [satisfying the human needs in Vietnam] about which Johnson spoke will come and no people can remain insensitive to the effort.... This altruistic work is incumbent on all peoples aligned against the greed and power of Marxism."

Conservative daily La Nacion provided AP coverage of the trip through 5 November, after which the subject was dropped (papers were scanned through 12 November). The independent daily La Razon, available for 27 October-8 November, continued its UP coverage, although less prominently than during the period 10-26 October. Independent El Mundo for 27 October-9 November did not comment on the trip or the Manila Conference, although it carried wire service dispatches in this period until the President's return to Washington and the announcement of his operation. Thereafter, prime US news was the 8 November elections.

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Bolivia

The principal La Paz newspapers for the general period 22 October-8 November 1966 provided almost daily, and often front-page coverage of President Johnson's Asian trip using AP, UP, AFP, Reuters and USIS reports and wirephotos. Only pro-Soviet Communist Party weekly Unidad was conspicuously silent. Emphasis on reporting in the independent press was on the Manila Conference. Only three editorials commenting on the President's trip appeared: two in Catholic daily Presencia and one in leftist daily Jornada.

Commenting in the 25 October issue of Presencia, regular columnist ABG said the result of the Manila conference, "a firm decision to continue the war," was completely predictable because "whether we like it or not there is no other alternative and no other way." This is so, explained ABG, because China and the USSR do not want a peaceful solution in Vietnam, "are constantly preventing one," and thus "it becomes unnecessary to continue speaking of peace." Consequently, concluded the columnist, the decision that "peace will only be attained with victory" is "a logical corollary for those involved in the conflict," though "it is paradoxical and sad that other Asian peoples, possible victims of Chinese expansionism, might have been put at ease by the decision to continue the war."

On 2 November ABG's column in Presencia reviewed "Johnson in Asia," this time concluding that there was more to the President's trip than the Manila Conference and "that there was US domestic and international politics." The Manila Conference, said ABG, "was not transcendental, its results were neither spectacular nor new..." but as for the trip itself, "it could be considered as a success by some, a failure by others...; it could well be a personal victory for his policy and a success for his party, and if American discontent with the war can be, at least in part, checked, there will have been another success."

In a front-page editorial comment on 31 October, leftist daily Jornada denied President Johnson's trip was a success and said ceremonies for the arrival of the President were carefully planned by the different governments to make it appear Johnson and his party were welcome. And after the trip, "will North Americans continue to feel they are 'popular' and friends of the world? It so happens they value demonstrations of governmental courtesy, which always has its own interests in mind, more than authentic expressions of the people. Although this indifference is not just the result of a certain Saxon stupidity, it can positively be attributed to the utilitarian and practical spirit of Yankee diplomacy which only debates on the highest administrative level of each country." The editorial charged that President Johnson continued, during his trip, "to refuse peace proposals of leaders of the world community." In conclusion, Jornada said the cost of the trip "will have to be chalked up to experience or another 'golden' link in the chain of waste and maladministration to assume leadership of the universe."

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5 November continued to give extensive coverage to President Johnson's trip, although this topic ceased dominating the international news once the Manila Conference closed. On the other hand, commentary reached its peak in this period, with each of the five papers publishing several articles. Conservative Excelsior led the way, often carrying two or three commentaries in one issue.

Communist-oriented El Dia, which had refrained from commenting before 25 October, published an article entitled "An Absurd Peace Offensive" by Francisco Martinez de la Vega on the editorial page of its 26 October issue. This stated that President Johnson truly wants peace in Vietnam, but that the type of peace the President is trying to get his "accomplices" at the Manila Conference to agree to is one which would let the United States do as it pleases, without interference. The article added that on a world-wide scale, peace would then mean the submission of everyone to the United States and the "American way of life."

On 27 October a cartoon captioned "The Manila Conference Has Closed" appeared next to El Dia's mast head on page 1. A group of "gorilla" generals were pictured as a band playing the musical score entitled "War."

The editorial in El Dia on 31 October was devoted to the President's trip which it viewed as primarily a political move to influence the forthcoming US elections. It also attacked President Johnson's statements that the Manila Conference represented an "ample community" of Asiatic peoples' interests by stating that a majority of the troops in Vietnam are American and all the armaments and resources backing them come from the United States.

On 1 November the "International Commentary" column on the editorial page of El Dia carried the headline "Peace Does Not Come From Manila." This commentary, by Hernando Pacheco, supported the view that if any peace negotiations or political conferences about Asia and Vietnam are to have real meaning, North Vietnam, Communist China, and the Soviet Union must participate.

The 1 November El Dia was the latest issue available for this report. Up until then, coverage of the President's trip continued to be based on a wide variety of news services, including UPI, AFP, EFE, INFORMEX, and USIS. On several occasions AFP commentaries on certain stages of the trip appeared as part of the regular news coverage. All of El Dia's own commentaries, as summarized above, made the Communist theme of condemning the United States as the aggressor in Vietnam basic to their considerations.

Liberal El Universal continued its very complete coverage of the trip based exclusively on UPI stories, with articles by Merriman Smith predominating. Prior to 25 October one cartoon had been the only form of commentary to appear, but beginning 25 October, three commentary articles

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Belgium

Coverage of President Johnson's trip to the Far East was contained in each of the four Brussels newspapers reviewed for the period from 25 October through 7 November, although of the four, only communist Le Drapeau Rouge carried commentary which exceeded the volume of factual reporting.

Daily articles on the trip were carried in independent Le Soir from 25 through 28 October and from 30 October through 4 November, but the great majority were factual accounts and AP and AFP releases, at times accompanied by photographs, with the only commentary appearing as one of two items in the 25 October issue. Datelined United Nations, 24 October, and written by Philippe Ben, this article was entitled "President Johnson Between 'the Hawks' and 'the Dove,'" and dealt with the "true goals" of the Manila Conference and President Johnson's position in relation to his allies at the conference table. Concerning the first point, Ben stated that the Johnson Administration would have been delighted to have some of the US allies send more troops to Vietnam and therefore that the President was to concentrate his effort along those lines in the Philippines and Malaysia. "These two reinforcements," Ben continued, "would be purely symbolical. But for the Johnson Administration, it is symbols which count, above all, in this matter. According to opinions gathered in Washington and New York, one of the probable aims of the President was to mobilize enough Asian support to be able to tell his American compatriots and international opinion that those who claim that the United States is alone in leading the war in Vietnam and that all the world condemns this intervention, are completely wrong." As for the second point, Ben asserted that the President occupied a central position in Manila between the Hawks - composed of "the Korean and Thai leaders and, of course, General Ky, who are ferociously opposed to anything which would not be 'a total victory'" - and the Doves - New Zealand, the Philippines, and "perhaps even Australia, whose leaders would probably consider favorably a new pause in the American raids on North Vietnam." Ben further declared that "it appears that a fair number of American officials speak already of the necessity of muzzling 'the extremists' among the allies of the United States, without which negotiation with Hanoi would never be possible," and concluded with the statement: "Nevertheless, at least in one aspect, one can already predict that the Manila Conference will be a great success for President Johnson: on American television, radio, and in the press, this Conference relegated the electoral campaign to second place."

Each issue of Socialist Le Peuple, from 25 October through 4 November, with the exception of the 29 and 30 October issues, contained coverage of the trip. Of the articles carried in these issues, however, only two short items appearing on 1 and 4 November carried any comment. The first stated that "although Vice President Humphrey

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WORLD PRESS REACTION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S FAR EASTERN TRIP

[Final Survey]

This is the third and final survey of world press reaction to President Johnson's Eastern tour. The information contained herein is reported from foreign publications received between 1 and 17 November. As with previous reports in this series, contents are confined to editorial or news reaction, comments and analysis concerning the President's trip.

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Similar ideas were expressed by Gilberto Keith in the second Commentary of 27 October. As was expected, the article stated, peace did not come out of the Manila conference. The commentary then took several points in the Manila communique and showed that these were not steps to "a complete armistice, or even the gradual suspension of hostilities." It concluded that the US and the Asian states which back its policy are waging "a mistaken defense of liberty, of democracy, of dignity, and of other concepts which the politicians express when they do not conclude a peaceful agreement or preserve the health and lives of their unfortunate compatriots."

The third 27 October article, entitled "Peaceful Tendencies" by Dr. Eduardo Borrell Navarro, compared the Manila Conference with the Moscow meeting of Communist leaders and concluded that the Communist Bloc seems ready to negotiate on Vietnam. (This same article appeared in the Managua daily La Noticia on 30 October and is discussed in detail under the Nicaragua section of this report.)

The opposite view was taken in an Excelsior editorial on 28 October which said that no matter what judgment is made on the Manila Conference, the Communist Bloc has given no indication that hostilities would soon cease. It concluded that as long as the Soviet Union and Communist China are not losing any men or material in the Vietnamese war, there would be no reason for them to end it.

An Excelsior editorial on 29 October, headed "Johnson in Thailand," affirmed that the President's declarations since the Manila Conference are evidence of his honest desire to end hostilities in Vietnam. "Added to this, the calls for peace made by de Gaulle and Pope Paul," concluded the editorial, "coupled to a world-wide yearning for peace, would hopefully indicate that such a solution acceptable to all could soon be reached."

The same issue of Excelsior carried another commentary, this one by Raul Carrancay Trujillo, dealing with features of the present Asian situation. One point made was that "thanks to the role played by the US since the end of World War II -- role of guarding peace and order in Asia against Communist aggression -- free governments are able to exist, governments which can now choose to join the US in the Vietnamese war and the Manila Conference." The war was termed not a failure, but a victory in that it has achieved its goal of "preventing all of Asia from falling to Communism."

On 31 October, Excelsior carried an article entitled "Johnson and Communism" by Froylan M. Lopez Narvaez. This article analyzed the President's statements made to the Malaysians that they were an example of how military means could be employed to stop Communist aggression. The article claimed that these were only "half-truths." It then differentiated between being right politically and being right morally and ideologically, adding that the US should reevaluate its position according to these concepts.

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carry short comments. During the period under review, 22 October through 4 November, neither pro-Papandreou To Vima nor Communist-leaning I Avgi carried comment as such, although the latter lost no opportunity to criticize, carp, and otherwise paint as gory a picture of the anti-US demonstrations as possible. All the papers surveyed revealed their absorption with Greek domestic and foreign affairs, and in most cases reporting on the President's trip was relegated to the back page, which ranks second in carrying the news of the day.

In a seventh-page commentary in the 22 October issue of I Kathimerini, Terpos Pileidis noted "contradictory statements" by Presidents Johnson and Marcos regarding the significance of the Manila talks and wondered "which is the truth." The writer also cited the opinion of "western observers" that the Conference was intended to "give the impression to US voters that an effort was being made to find a peaceful solution for the Vietnam war and that the US has the support of Asian nations in the conflict." However, the belief was expressed that the President was aiming at the establishment of a "new pan-Asian organization in the form of an alliance which will replace SEATO."

The paper reported favorably on the welcome given the President in Sydney and carried a photograph of the ticker tape welcome given there for him. In addition, the paper carried factual news reports from Manila, Moscow, and Saigon. After reporting the President's "secret visit to a US base," the paper published a photograph of the Manila Conference leaders dining at the conference's close. The paper pointed out that "Hanoi and Peking Reject Manila Conference Proposals Concerning Troop Withdrawal from Vietnam within Six Months," carried a Bangkok special service report, a Nan Danh rejection and description of the Conference as an "insipid farce," and commentary by Tirana's Zeri i Populit, which lumped the Manila and Moscow meetings together.

I Kathimerini's commentary on the Conference finally appeared on 29 October in its regular front-page editorial comments column. In general, it approved of the effort and, harking back to the appeasement of the Nazis at Munich, declared that "obviously Johnson refuses to become the Chamberlain of WW III. He is justified." The paper continued its factual reporting, as well as its low-key approach to the demonstrations and security measures for the remainder of the period, quoting the President's remarks but also citing pertinent comments by Izvestiya, Peking, Hanoi, and Budapest, in addition to Senator Morse.

While Eleftheria's coverage was generally favorable, the paper seemed to have reservations about the Conference itself. It gave only two paragraphs to the paint-throwing incident, reported the street fighting in Sydney between demonstrators and police, and "bloody clashes between anti-American students and police" outside the President's hotel in Manila. It carried a picture of a dead Malaysian on its inside pages on 1 November.

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writer added "No American heart can fail to be moved at the sight of Johnson in shirtsleeves in the thick jungles of Vietnam speaking of peace and the magnificent work being done there; although every dead Viet Cong costs the US more than a million dollars."

Communist El Siglo commented at length on the trip and conference, with the lead editorial on 27 October asserting that if the resolutions adopted at the Manila Conference had been sincere, President Johnson would have abstained from visiting Vietnam, "a gesture which can only be interpreted as provocative and meaningless. But provocation and meaninglessness are inherent in Yankee policy, especially in view of the fact that the Manila Conference, under the pretext of seeking peace, has served no purpose other than to accelerate the criminal pace of the 'escalation.' In addition to seeking a justification for continuing the war on a broader and bloodier scale, the Manila Conference has also been aimed toward the next US Presidential elections. Johnson's initiative, to 'solve' the Vietnam conflict, is designed to plate over his unpopularity which would lead to an electoral debacle for the Democratic Party were it to continue."

On 25 October, El Siglo ran an editorial alleging that President Johnson's advisers searched for an appropriate location in which to hold a "puppets' conclave" for a long time; "they chose the Philippines where Communists are condemned to death and the 'public authorities' are more Johnsonian than Johnson." The President, it continued, was certain to be received with veneration befitting a victor in "Aida"; however, to the contrary, he was mistreated where it was least expected. The puppets' conference will proceed according to the libreto written in the White House, but its agreements will convince no one. The true conference on Vietnam will unfold in the streets of Manila."

An article by Roberto Landaeta in El Siglo on 26 October asserted that even the "subservient errand boys and spokesmen of Yankee imperialism have by now realized that the 'search for a negotiated and honorable peace' was only a pretext to demand the unconditional surrender of the 'heroic Vietnamese people.' It concluded: "The increasingly shocking defeats of US Marines and mercenaries, the strong military, economic, and political assistance from the socialist world, and the international solidarity of peoples who have defamed the US Hitler and his shock troops, have unmasked the background of the War Council meeting in the Philippines."

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## COMMUNIST ASIA

As the Manila Conference ended and President Johnson continued his Asian tour, the press of Communist Asia raised its voice in denunciation, reaching a crescendo just after the Manila Communique was issued. Although the four Communist Asian countries uniformly denounced the Conference as a war conference called by the US to escalate the war and to force the other nations to assume a greater burden in it, the intensity and approach varied considerably from country to country. North Vietnam concentrated its reporting on the Manila Conference and used the occasion to again rebuff all calls for peace negotiations. The Chinese Communist press reprinted several commentaries from Nhan Dan, the North Vietnam daily, elaborated on these same points in original articles, and strongly denounced the Manila Conference as a "manifestation of the despicable plot for peace talks hatched by the US imperialists in collaboration with the Soviet modern revisionists." The North Korean press concentrated on President Johnson's visit to South Korea, asserting that he came "to recruit more puppet troops for the South Vietnam war and to foment a second front in Korea to relieve the pressure in Vietnam." Although Mongolia gave only light coverage to these events, it issued a Foreign Ministry statement denouncing the Manila Conference.

China

Coverage of the President's trip and Manila Conference in the Peiping People's Daily during the period 21 October-10 November was continuously heavy, and vitriolic. Generally, articles on the subject were relegated to inside pages carrying other foreign news and Vietnam war items. Discussion of the Manila Conference per se was confined to two articles, on 27 and 28 October.

On 21 October, People's Daily reprinted the 19 October editorial in the Hanoi newspaper Nhan Dan, which said that in making his trip to Asia and attending the Manila Conference, President Johnson's main objective was to press the "Asian satellites of the US" to contribute more men and money to the "US war of aggression" in Vietnam.

The same issue carried a short account of the President's arrival in New Zealand. Headlined "New Zealand Masses Demonstrate and Critically Oppose the Arrival of Johnson, God of Plagues," it said that more than 1,000 demonstrators lined the streets, carrying placards saying "Go Home" and "New Zealand Will Not Sell Lives for US Dollars."

Under the headline "Wherever the God of Plagues Goes, He Will Be Driven Away," the 22 October issue carried dispatches from Melbourne and Wellington dealing with the crowds of demonstrators in Canberra, Melbourne and Wellington. Many of the placards and banners were quoted, such as "Yankee, Go Home", "Get Out of Vietnam," and "No More Australians for Vietnam War."

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The 26 October issue carried three factual articles, the first of which said that the Manila Conference had settled nothing, the final communique contained "nothing new", and the whole thing had been organized to "appease the hawks and content the doves. Following the Conference, the problem still exists." The article asked who would be the officials to see that the Communists kept their word and when the withdrawal would take place. It also noted that officials refused to answer these questions. Another article quoted Pravda as saying that the Manila Conference was a new step in the "escalation" in Asia.

The 27 October issue carried a factual article which commented that "despite the deception provided by the Manila Conference, the Asian situation is still very real." The article noted that the Manila Conference had elicited no reaction from Hanoi.

The 28 October issue carried an article on the Chinese nuclear explosion and quoted the Japanese press as saying that this was Communist China's answer to the Manila Conference.

#### Somali Republic

A review of the Mogadiscio daily Corriere della Somalia, organ of the SYL, the governing party in the Somali Republic, for the general period 24 October-5 November, revealed only brief and largely objective factual coverage of the President's trip. The 26 October issue quoted the Rome Italian Communist Party organ l'Unita which denounced the US even for introducing the slogan, "Asia for Asians."

#### Sudan

A survey of the Khartoum daily al-Ra'i al-'Amm for the period 25 October-3 November shows that coverage of President Johnson's trip after the Manila Conference was nominal, consisting of relatively brief and impartial news releases.

#### Togo

The Lome progovernment daily newspaper Togo-Presse Denyigba was reviewed for the general period 25 October-5 November. The issue of 25 October announced the opening of the Manila Conference and included excerpts from the speeches of President Marcos and President Johnson. In its 27-28 October issue, the newspaper stated that the Cam Ranh Base was preparing for President Johnson's visit and briefly described his arrival in Thailand. The 2 November issue contained parts of President Johnson's speech in South Korea, and on 3 November, the paper reported President Johnson's arrival in Alaska.

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drawing up a "plan for the future of Asia," for "all the nations involved with the US in this plan have less than six percent of Asia's population, and this doesn't take into account the fact that all the aforementioned countries have opposition elements in them which should not be counted [among those favoring the Asia plan of the Conference]." In sum, the article said, "The conditions laid down are obviously unacceptable."

The 27 October issue printed an article from Moscow over the signature of Adriano Guerra which noted that Pravda and Izvestiya had predicted additional "escalation" of the war as a result of the Manila Conference. On 28 October, l'Unita printed the gist of Hanoi's "firm reply to the Manila communique," which was that the "conditions laid down are both cynical and insulting." The 30 October issue contained a brief article over the initials of "e.p.," in which mention was made of De Gaulle's statement to the press that "peace does not depend on Hanoi, but on Washington."

An unsigned article in the 31 October issue related some of the events that occurred during the President's visit to Malaysia, and described the death of an anti-Johnson demonstrator at the hands of the Malaysian police. The anti-American demonstrations in Kuala Lumpur were described in considerable detail and with little respect for objectivity.

Another article by "a.j." appeared on 1 November, saying that if the President's trip was intended to show the American people how many friends they have in Asia, "it has proved just the contrary."

A very brief resume of the President's visit to the US troops in Korea appeared in l'Unita of 2 November. It contained several short quotations from his address to the troops and also included the customary anti-US propaganda.

The 3 November issue of the paper reported the President's return to the US and the announcement by the Pentagon of the forthcoming departure of an additional 46,000 US troops who will augment the existing 336,000 troops in Vietnam. It noted also that John W. Malecela, Tanzania's ambassador to the UN, had judged the results of the Manila Conference to be negative insofar as they concern improved prospects for peace."

The Rome Centrist daily Il Messaggero (reviewed through 6 November) devoted space to the President's trip and the Manila Conference in every issue through 3 November. Most of the treatment, however, was largely factual, either by correspondent Marco Cesarini Sforza in New York or by correspondents writing from the capitals which the President visited, and sometimes including material from US newspapers. The reporting on the trip was generally in sympathy with the US. An editorial headed

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## EASTERN EUROPE

The parting shots of the East European press at President Johnson's Asian tour and the Manila Conference repeated the previous charges of hypocrisy against the US and President Johnson, who allegedly was using the trip and the Conference as a means to bolster his prestige domestically and abroad and to draw up "new plans for further expanding the aggression of the armed forces of the six other countries involved in the war in Vietnam." Ostensibly factual reporting leaned heavily on descriptions of anti-US demonstrations and adverse commentary from the Western press.

Albania

Although preparations for the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party received the major share of the attention of the Tirana dailies, Bashkimi and Zeri i Popullit, during the last week of October, the Manila Conference was treated in a news item in Bashkimi of 26 October entitled "A Deceitful Document". According to this item, "The conference took place behind closed doors and was devoted chiefly to drawing up new plans for further expanding the aggression against the Vietnamese people and increasing the participation of the armed forces of the six other countries involved in the war in Vietnam."

"The concluding communique published at the completion of the work of the conference is a basically deceitful, unscrupulous document. In their communique, these reactionary governments state that 'the United States and its allies who have forces in Vietnam agree to withdraw these forces within six months' if this will end the 'aggression' against South Vietnam. This is the logic of the imperialists who call the war of liberation of the Vietnamese people 'aggression' and call their own aggressive activities 'rescue operations'. The joint communique also contains a number of deceitful propagandistic statements concerning the so-called desire of the US and its allies to 'build up' South Vietnam."

Bashkimi of 2 November published an article describing demonstrations in Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and South Korea protesting the visit of President Johnson. The other November issues of Bashkimi and Zeri i Popullit did not include any comments on the Manila Conference or the President's trip.

Bulgaria

The adjectives "accusatory" and "condemnatory" best reflect the tenor of reporting and commentary on the Manila Conference and President Johnson's Asian trip, in the available central press (Rabotnichesko delo, Kooperativno selo, Zemedelsko zname, and Narodna Armiya) for the period 26 October-3 November.

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Malaysian people and that it would further strengthen Malaysia's world position, but that it would not influence Malaysia into adopting a pro-US foreign policy.

A short item in the 19 October issue of the paper noted that the President might be endangered by a tidal wave while in Honolulu. On 20 October the paper reported that the President arrived in New Zealand. On 21 October the paper gave headline coverage to the remarks made by the President on his arrival Australia and also published on the front page a photograph of the President's arrival in Honolulu.

On 22 October the paper carried no news items on the trip or conference, but did comment editorially on the conference. The editorial said that the Manila Conference was the first conference outside the United States that President Johnson had attended, which was "proof of seriousness with which the Vietnam problem is viewed by the United States." It said that President Johnson was going to Manila to discuss the Vietnam problem and to seek a way to peacefully end the war, and that the aim of the conference was not to expand the war. The editorial expressed the hope that the meeting would convince the sides concerned that efforts to find peace must be continued. "We want peace and welcome President Johnson because of his firmness in seeking peace," the editorial said.

On 23 October the paper carried a news item reporting on the demonstrations in Sydney, also a picture of the President and a long and favorable article describing his life and policies.

On 24 October the paper prominently reported the arrival in Manila of the participants in the conference and the remarks made by President Johnson on his arrival there. The paper also published a picture showing paint-splattered US security agents in Melbourne. There were also short articles on a reported Huk plot to kill the President, anti-Johnson posters in Kuala Lumpur, and North Vietnam's rejection of any peace efforts that might come from the Manila Conference.

On 25 October the paper published an article dealing with the welcoming ceremonies planned for President Johnson in Malaysia and another article reporting the arrest of two Chinese carrying anti-American propaganda.

On 26 October the paper published a long article describing the documents issued by the Manila Conference. A long editorial said that it was important that nations having an interest in peace in South Vietnam adopt a united attitude toward that country and formulate political, military and economic plans for the country. The editorial labeled as a weakness of the Manila Conference that fact that it was attended only by nations involved in the war in Vietnam, but noted that the meeting had to be held to show the world that these nations were determined to achieve peace.

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On 26 October, Duta Masjarakat published a brief report on the remarks made by President Johnson at the Manila Conference. Angkatan Bersendjata reported that Ambassador Harriman would visit Indonesia and other countries to brief them on the results of the Manila Conference. The paper also published an article reporting North Vietnam's denunciations of the conference.

On 27 October, Duta Masjarakat reported that the Philippines National Press Association had issued a statement criticizing the police for brutality in breaking up an anti-US demonstration. Angkatan Bersendjata published a short report on the documents issued by the conference and pictures of the participants.

Duta Masjarakat did not refer to the conference or the President's trip in its 28 October issue. A short item on the President's trip to South Vietnam appeared in the 28 October issue of Angkatan Bersendjata.

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Asian Southeast where the Seventh Fleet causes a 'Pax Americana' to reign. There have been many observations of certain speeches of President Johnson which seemed to annex these members of the Commonwealth to Asia." Discussing the results of the Conference itself, Struye stated that "the Asian allies of the United States can consider themselves satisfied: the will to lead the Vietnam war to victory was clearly expressed. All those who believed that the Manila Conference would make a peace gesture have been profoundly deceived. Doubtless, the Seven affirmed their desire to hasten the hour of peace. That is a declaration which does not cost much and which pledges nothing. The most important thing is to know if the goals of the war can be reached in a reasonable period of time." Struye then suggested that "it is perhaps Russia which seems the country most qualified to play the role of mediator or reasonable conciliator. Did it not succeed, a short while ago, in Tashkent, to reconcile India and Pakistan? It is significant that President Johnson recently lifted his hat to the USSR in stating that he was convinced that it desired peace. It is also significant that at the hour when tension between the Soviet Union and Peking China seems to be increasing, the Moscow leaders have reiterated their desire for peaceful coexistence with the Western world. It is still more characteristic that the President of the Philippines who, in Manila, seems to have been the spokesman of the 'moderates', appears decided to address Moscow directly in order to bring about a conciliatory intervention."

Lastly, the 28 October and 4 November issues of Le Drapeau Rouge, weekly organ of the Belgian CP, each carried one article, consisting wholly or in part of commentary. On 28 October, under the heading "The Comedy of Manila," an unsigned article (1) observed that the communique and statements published on 25 October "confirm, if there was any need of confirmation, that Washington intends to pursue the escalation of the war"; (2) remarked that to affirm that the US would pull its troops out under the conditions stated is the same as demanding of the South Vietnamese people "struggling, against American aggression and for their independence and liberty, total capitulation;" (3) asserted that "when the Manila declaration affirms that the goal of the seven countries is 'freedom in Vietnam, Asia, and the Pacific', it appears clearly that it is in fact a question of freedom for the United States to intervene where it sees fit"; and (4) stated that the communique published 24 hours earlier, following the meetings between Presidents Tito and Nasir and Prime Minister Gandhi, was "much more realistic" and expressed the demands also called for by "all those who participated in the demonstrations which marked each of the stops of President Johnson." Finally, on 4 November, S. Nudelholt wrote that President Johnson, although able to visit "the different countries of Asia and the Pacific which support the American aggression, in spite of the hostile manifestations which accompanied him

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The nationalist Rio de Janeiro daily Diario de Noticias, commenting on the Manila Conference in its 21 and 26 October issues, merely reiterated President Johnson's "unencouraging" words that he did not expect his trip and the conference itself to produce immediate results. In both issues, the writer expressed the hope that the USSR might alter its position on the war and exert some pressure on Hanoi or China. This is particularly true if the Soviets, as the writer appeared to believe, did encourage the meeting in New Delhi which has called for a halt in the escalation of the war. "The Manila Conference represents, or can represent an important turning point in the war, or the opening of negotiations, or intensification of US operations, depending on the depth of the Sino-Soviet split. All in all the conclusions reached will lend insight as to how the US really feels."

The 25 and 27 October issues of O Estado de Sao Paulo, pro-US, highly praised the US for its efforts to stop Communist aggression in Southeast Asia and its attempts to find a peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam. The 28 October issue attempted to explain criticisms of the war within the US by saying that this was an opinion of a minority who are not specialists or students of problems involved in the Vietnam conflict.

#### Chile

With the exception of the Communist press, the majority of the Santiago daily papers scanned for the period 21 October-1 November continued to publish favorable editorial reaction to President Johnson's trip along with extensive wire service coverage.

On 25 October, rightist opposition daily El Diario Ilustrado editorially supported Johnson's trip stating that the President has demonstrated his willingness to solve effectively the problem which has arisen in Southeast Asia as a result of Communist aggression in South Vietnam. The editorial concluded that the Manila Conference must clearly point out to the world the danger in the policy of international aggression being implemented by the USSR and Red China, not only for Southeast Asia but for the entire civilized world.

Moderate conservative El Mercurio reacted similarly on 27 October, stating that in the final communique, the seven nations represented at Manila have proved that the only purpose behind their aid to the South Vietnamese Government is to frustrate Communist aggression. It added that the promise of the withdrawal of allied troops within 6 months if intervention from the North ceases is a categorical one and eliminated the possibility of the US remaining indefinitely on the bases now occupied by US forces in South Vietnam.

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Guatemala

Guatemala City dailies La Hora (independent), Grafico (leftist), Diario de Centro America (official government paper), La Prensa, El Imparcial (conservative), and Impacto (independent) scanned from 25 October to 11 November carried only wire service accounts on the latter phase of President Johnson's trip to Asia.

Honduras

Five Honduran daily newspapers gave President Johnson's trip only scant coverage during the period 18 October - 5 November; there was very little space devoted to the Manila Conference and very few front-page articles. Two newspapers, the Tegucigalpa Liberal Party organ El Pueblo and the government-owned San Pedro Sula Diario del Norte, followed the President's trip in their "International Briefs" columns. Three other newspapers (the Tegucigalpa National Party organ El Nacional and conservative El Dia and independent San Pedro Sula La Prensa) mentioned President Johnson's trip or the Manila Conference irregularly, with from three to five articles during this 20-day period. These articles did not seem to coincide necessarily with the high points of the trip.

For the first time, several of the newspapers commented on the Manila Conference and on the Vietnamese war. On 26 October, El Dia commented that the allies will want to talk peace but that the other side will not respond. It felt that the result of the Manila Conference would therefore be an intensification of the war effort in order to end the war more quickly. On 22 October, La Prensa discussed the need for peace in Vietnam but did not mention the President's trip or the Manila Conference. On 3 November, in an editorial entitled "The Manila Agreement" (although most of the editorial did not refer to the conference), the suggestion was made that the Manila agreement be submitted to the United Nations as proof that the allies are sincere in their peace efforts.

Diario del Norte carried two columns related to the war in Vietnam. The first, on 27 October from Singapore by Wee Kim Wee, suggested that Ceylon and Singapore may be the only Asian nations able to negotiate a settlement; other nations would be distrusted by one side or the other. The second, by Francisco Jose Duron on 29 October, called Vietnam a real threat to world peace. The author felt the real problem was China, that using nuclear bombs would widen the war, not end it, but that the war could not be abandoned, however, without the probability of losing the whole area to Communist China.

Mexico

The Mexico City daily press in the general period 25 October -

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Sauvage supported that view only by quoting the New York Times, and Figaro rather rashly used the headline, "American Press Generally Unfavorable to the Declarations of Manila." Sauvage found the Declaration quite useless as an instrument to promote peace. On the same page, an article from Saigon by Francois Nivolon was headed "Saigon: No Surprise. The War will continue and No Doubt Be Intensified." On the opposite page was an analysis of the Vietnam conflict by General F. Gambiez, a completely professional appraisal, with no political or moral admonitions. In the same group of articles was one quoting Izvestiya as saying that the Conference was merely a smoke-screen to hide a long-planned escalation in a war which is becoming more and more an American war.

From 28 October through 1 November, Le Figaro confined itself to factual articles of a generally sympathetic tone written by Jacquet--Francillon, plus one AFP article on US installations and commitments in Thailand. On 2 November, Jacquet-Francillon summarized his views of the trip. Though he could see in it no achievement likely to shorten the war, he did find it generally successful in improving the image of the US in the area and in assuring Thailand, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand of US support in an area where the British potential is diminishing. In conclusion, he expressed surprise at the generally friendly reception accorded to President Johnson: ".....despite the efforts made by a minority of pacifist demonstrators, he [President Johnson] was able to show that the war in Vietnam was producing effects in Asia diametrically the opposite of its effects in Europe. In this part of the world, nearly two years of escalation resulted in a diminution and not in an increase in anti-American sentiment. In general, the reception given to President Johnson was unquestionably warmer than that with which President Eisenhower had to content himself six years ago..."

L'Aurore offered daily coverage of the Manila Conference and the President's trip in its issues from 26 October through 2 November. During this period, there was only one formal commentary, a rather short piece by Roland Faure, which appeared in the 26 October issue under the heading, "The U.S. Troops will Be Evacuated From South Vietnam Six Months after the Withdrawal of the North Vietnamese." Faure's position was that although the US would continue to strengthen its forces in South Vietnam, the purpose would be to have troops adequate to meet the infiltrating forces of Ho Chi Minh, and not, basically, to provide for escalation of the war. Still, said Faure, "The issue cannot be resolved merely by a military victory. The Americans and their allies must wait. For what? Wait for the excesses of the 'cultural revolution' to throw an inevitable discredit upon China, with the result that the influence of Moscow will supersede that of Peking, and develop sufficiently to lead Ho Chi Minh to negotiation."

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Israel

Reviewed for the period 24 October-4 November were seven Tel Aviv dailies and two weeklies, all of which carried wire service dispatches and factual reports on the President's trip and the Manila Conference. Several papers carried feature articles, headlined as follows: independent daily, Haarets, "Manila Conference Not Pave Way for Peace in Vietnam, Paris Believes Hanoi Will Reject Proposals"; Histadrut organs Davar and Omer carried similar feature articles under the headline, "Johnson's Visit to Vietnam Indicates Continuation of War, Increase of American Overseas Force Anticipated." The Communist daily Kol Haam on 27 October carried two factual news items, one quoting Pravda under the heading, "Manila Conference Agrees to Expansion of Vietnam War," and the other quoting the North Vietnam News Agency under the heading, "Reaction to Johnson's Visit." The labor organ Davar of 30 October quoted a news item from the London Sunday Times under the heading, "Soviets Compelled to Undertake New Vietnam Policy,"

On 27 October, the daily organ of the NRP (National Religious Party), Hatsofeh, published an editorial, doubting whether there was anything in the Manila Conference or its resolutions that could be regarded as a substantial and concrete contribution to the solution of the Vietnam problem. The editorial said that a great deal of courage, daring and preparedness to make concessions is required to break the deadlock surrounding that problem. The stubborn and aggressive stand of Communist China, does not leave much room for maneuvering, concessions and compromise; but the main source of hope for ending the war in Vietnam is the pro-US side, whose policy is being shaped by democratic principles and bodies, especially the US Government, the editorial went on to say.

On 28 October, Haarets published an editorial headlined "A Shrewd Move by Johnson," excerpts of which follow:

"In several respects, the Manila Conference was a success for President Johnson. It enabled the Americans and their allies in the Vietnam War to produce another formula which demonstrated their desire for a peaceful settlement of the war and the removal of all foreign forces from Vietnam. It presented to the world for the first time the image of a wide international front against Communism in Vietnam, in order to counter the argument of exclusively American intervention..."

"The image which the Americans are most skilfully developing in the wake of the Manila Conference's joint communique is that they have now clearly committed themselves to the withdrawal of their forces from Vietnam, with an 6-month timetable, if Hanoi agrees to do likewise..."

"To the extent that Hanoi, Peiping and Moscow fear that the Americans are entrenching themselves in the South for the purpose of remaining there, the Manila communique contains an unambiguous American denial of such intentions."

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From 25 October through 6 November, the Milan conservative daily Corriere della Sera devoted considerable space, and often front-page treatment, to the President's trip. The reporting, frequently drawn from West European press services, was largely factual and generally sympathetic to the US. A report by "R.V." in the 26 October issue stated inter alia that "the conference undoubtedly confirmed the unity among the seven countries represented, in spite of some minor differences between the South Korean 'militarists' and the Filipinos, who emphasized the need for greater peaceful development in Asia." In the 28 October issue a commentary by Augusto Guerriero, entitled "The Olive Branch" referred to the Allied offer to Hanoi as "a rabbit which he [President Johnson] held in reserve and pulled out at Manila." The writer pointed out that the "time factor" is a new element in the effort to get Hanoi to come to the conference table and he suggested that this factor was possibly prompted by prior Soviet insistence that the US set some "time-table" for the withdrawal of its forces from South Vietnam. Next, the writer indicated that he differs with the opinion expressed by James Reston in the 3 October 1966 issue of The New York Times under the heading "The Tragedy of Skepticism," in which Reston maintained that the basic problem is that Hanoi does not believe in the sincerity of the US offers of peace. After citing a letter carried in The New York Times from an unidentified reader who had argued against Reston that the problem is not that Hanoi does not believe in the sincerity of the US offers, but rather that Hanoi wants only a settlement in which it can gain control over South Vietnam, the writer indicated that The Times of London also disagrees with Reston's view. The British paper was quoted as stating that the Manila proposals will also very likely be "emphatically rejected" by Hanoi, basically because the Hanoi position is that the war is one between the Saigon Government and the Vietcong, while in the American view the war is merely one forward thrust of Communism into South Vietnam. In short, the writer resumed, the US estimates that if North Vietnam withdraws its forces and stops infiltration the revolt will end and Saigon will be able to handle the situation. After pointing out that Reston averred that this US estimate is probably wrong, the writer again differed with Reston and argued that if the American estimate is wrong Hanoi could be expected to accept the US offer of withdrawal, figuring that after the US pull-out the Vietcong would be able to gain control and that the US would not readily come back once its troops were out. The writer argued in substance that the fact that Hanoi has rejected the offer indicates that the American estimate may be valid, i. e., that Hanoi fears the Vietcong would not be able to gain control, even after an American pull-out. In conclusion, the writer regretted as "politically inept" the fact that "Johnson leaves the choice to the adversary."

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The following cartoon depicting President Johnson's Asian trip appeared in the Santiago daily El Mercurio on 31 October.



- The Dance of the Dove of Peace

U THANT: Where are you going in your Manila shawl? ..  
Where are you going, Oriental Doll?

JOHNSON: I'm going to Asia to dance at the fair  
In order to see what will happen there...

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Eleftheria carried a photograph, taken of President Johnson when he served in 1942 in the MacArthur headquarters, on its front page during the period under review, together with a factual report headed, "Melbourne gives warm welcome to Johnson yesterday." The paper also carried a short Reuters report on the demonstrations in Manila.

While coverage in Eleftheria and I Makhi tended to be favorable and sympathetic, that of Kharavgi ran true to form with emphasis on the less favorable aspects of the trip such as the paint-throwing incident and the demonstrations. At one point the paper claimed that the President "tries to buy Algeria with wheat and barley," and reported claims by Boumedienne that the US was "indirectly attempting to make Algeria change its policy on Vietnam in order to obtain needed wheat."

The satisfaction of the paper over the demonstrations in Australia was expressed in a 23 October editorial titled, "He was properly welcomed." Calling the President "the new Hitler," the paper praised the welcome by the Australian people "whose children are sent to contribute to Johnson's dirty war," and criticized the President for having "the nerve to visit Australia officially to thank the government for the young men it had sent to the Vietnam slaughterhouse."

Kharavgi's attitude toward the Manila Conference was evident in the headline, "Anti-Communist Conference at Manila Opened with Demagogic Speeches." The factual report, carried on 25 October, was also interspersed with slanted commentary.

Halkin Sesi on 25 October carried a factual item on the Manila demonstration. An editorial by Ozer Sahoglu in the same issue concerned the recent summit conferences, and noted that the favorable results of the Johnson-Gromyko White House discussions have presumably caused the Moscow Communist Party and Government organ newspapers to temporarily forget the Vietnam question. The writer noted further that the US elections were approaching and that President Johnson wanted to convince the voters that he is handling matters well. Sahoglu then observed that from this standpoint the spring-like atmosphere in various parts of the world must be viewed with suspicion.

The only other reference to the trip appeared in the 24 October issue of Halkin Sesi, wherein there was a large front-page photo of a street demonstration in Sydney:

#### Greece

The available nationalist Greek press gave generally objective coverage to the President's trip and to the Manila Conference. Most of the commentary was in the form of headlines accompanying factual reports, although conservative, pro-government I Kathimerini and Eleftheria did

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In a BTA item datelined New York, the 26 October issues of Rabotnichesko delo and Kooperativno selo cited the "issuance of a detailed communique which entirely falsifies the nature of events in Vietnam," stated that the "periodic consultations" called for in the communique "are designed to camouflage US intervention in Southeast Asia as multinational," and concluded that "regardless of how incredible it sounds, the real aggressors claim that the aggression is the action of others."

In the 27 October issue of Rabotnichesko delo, political commentator R. Velevev said that the Manila Conference "pretended to be an Asian conference at the summit level," that the result was "a voluminous document containing pompous titles," and that the Conference "did not contribute even a slim hope for a sensible and realistic approach in the US position regarding Vietnam." Velevev added that the Conference proceeded "under the symbol of a propaganda theme which was diametrically contrary to the truth" and that "the peaceful proposals and ideas...launched at Manila had no practical value and were absolutely inapplicable to the conflict in Vietnam." Velevev concluded that "the Manila trip had largely a publicity and propaganda character... and undoubtedly was also a political step in the preparations for a new military escalation."

In Narodna Armiya of 28 October, Ivanka Meneva termed the Manila Conference "a diplomatic stunt," called its peace proposals "very vague and unclear," and found that "the only conclusion to be drawn from the communique is that the war in Vietnam will continue with increasing force."

In Zemedelesko zname of 29 October, P. Kalchev wrote: "The main purpose of the Manila spectacle was to create the impression of Asian solidarity..., to demonstrate collectiveness in action." Kalchev cited "the growing moral and political isolation of Washington" as a reason for the US effort "to internationalize military actions," but asserted that "this effort also failed."

Commenting on the communique following President Johnson's visit to South Korea, Rabotnichesko delo for 3 November cited the use of the term "Communist threat" as camouflage for the "aggressive policy of the US" and for "acceleration of escalation." It concluded: "As is evident, the communique examines the situation and existing problems in Asia through the dangerous prism of military and aggressive terms. In the interest of truth, it should be noted that this final accord of Johnson's trip is accurate. It is a precise reflection of the real [imperialist] aims, missions, and intentions of the entire 17-day tour by the present master of the White House."

In a BTA account of President Johnson's return, the 3 November issue of Narodna Armiya cited a New York Times comment by columnist James Reston to the effect that "in the final analysis, the Johnson tour confronts the US with the prospect of a prolonged war in Asia."

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Japan

The four Japanese newspapers Mihon Keizai [conservative], English-language Japan Times [conservative], Asahi Shimbun [moderate left], and Kagoshima Shimpō [conservative] carried a larger volume of commentaries and editorials on President Johnson's trip in the period 22 October through 3 November than in the period 7-21 October.

On 24 October, Kawamura [Asahi Shimbun correspondent in Manila], citing President Johnson, reported that the main topic of discussion during the Manila Conference would be economic reforms and improvement of living conditions in Vietnam. In a separate article on the same day, Kawamura reported on the "delicate differences" in the speeches delivered by President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines and Nguyen Van Thien, Vietnamese Chief of State. Kawamura described the general atmosphere prevailing at the conference as "a firm attitude against aggression and a willingness for peaceful coexistence with North Vietnam." Asahi Shimbun of 24 October also carried reports from Hanoi and Peiping criticizing the Manila Conference as a "US strategy to expand the war in Vietnam."

On 26 October, Nabeshima, Nihon Keizai correspondent in Peiping, reported that Communist China felt, from the onset, that the Manila Conference was merely a show of the US imperialists and that a further increase of US military power in Vietnam and intensification of "provocative action" against Communist China after the conference was expected.

The 26 October Asahi Shimbun cited an unofficial comment by the Japanese Foreign Ministry as follows: "The communique, placing emphasis of livelihood security in Asia, coincides with the sentiments of Japan's foreign policy.... The communique expresses no concrete proposals for peace, which is rather disappointing.... A long war is expected...."

An Asahi Shimbun editorial on 26 October stated: "The US and its allies are strengthening their war efforts while pursuing means for a peaceful solution of the Vietnam dispute, but it appears that greater effort is being placed on strengthening the war effort.... No peace bid was made and the conference failed to show any new thinking in connection with the suspension of the bombing of North Vietnam.... Indications are that the two opposing sides are preparing for a protracted war in Vietnam.... They should both open their eyes wide to the realities of what each is attempting to accomplish in the name of liberation and peace...."

Noticeable in the Akahata coverage in the period 21-24 October was the emphasis placed on the derogatory of the welcoming crowds, i.e., protest demonstrations, tossing of ink-filled plastic bags, rotten eggs and tomatoes, etc. by student and labor groups during President Johnson's visit to Australia. On 21, 23, and 24 October, Akahata also carried a three-part editorial focusing attention on the central theme that the Manila Conference was a "frantic effort by the US to expand aggression in Vietnam."

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Luxembourg

Communist Zeitung vom Letzeburger Vollek, the only Luxembourg newspaper available for review (25 October - 5 November) continued its hostile presentation of US activities in the Southeast Asian area. A front-page article on 25 October, based on "an agency report," predicted that the Manila Conference would result in escalation of US aggression in Vietnam and described the President's "running the gauntlet" of stormy anti-US demonstrations in Sydney. While recalling similar demonstrations in Canberra, the article noted that "of thousands of invited guests, at most three hundred" attended the reception given for Mr Johnson in that city.

The final communique issued by "the US and its satellites" was given front-page coverage on 26 October under the heading, "Manila Conference No Bright Spot for Peace." Anchoring a front-page, 27 October editorial to a quotation from an article on the probability of heavy escalation in Vietnam by UPI correspondent Phil Newsom "B.F." commented on the Moscow Conference of nine socialist states and offered the rather oversimplified conclusion that "the key to peace is in the hands of the US," arguing that, "since the US started the intervention in Vietnam, hostilities can be stopped only by US withdrawal."

On 28 October, an unsigned, front-page editorial headed "After the Manila War Council - Mendacious Declaration to Justify Escalation," criticized the Communique, points of which, it said, "put the lying of recent Johnson, Rusk, and Goldberg speeches in the shade." The writer pointed out that the Communique contained no mention of a "disposition, at times expressed by the President and others, to accept NLF representatives in any ultimate negotiations."

The Netherlands

Coverage of the President's trip in the four Dutch daily newspapers scanned for the purposes of this survey was moderate in volume but generally sympathetic to the US. Het Vrij Volk, Amsterdam organ of the Dutch Labor Party, devoted very little attention to the subject. In the issues scanned (20-31 October) there was one item; the 27 October issue contained a factual report headed "Johnson at the Front," with a photo showing the President with American soldiers in Vietnam. Coverage in the Amsterdam independent conservative daily De Telegraaf during the period 20-31 October was somewhat more extensive, but almost exclusively factual; the heading of one such report, from Manila, stated that "America hopes for Soviet support toward Vietnamese peace..."

The Rotterdam liberal Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, reviewed from 20 through 29 October, devoted more space to the President's trip than either of the two previously mentioned papers, and also presented some

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published in the 26 October issue of the paper. He went on to say that "the speeches of most of the participants and the joint communique...do not offer much optimism as to a peaceful solution of the Vietnam drama." He concluded by saying that "Manila is, it seems, a step backward from peace."

"Peace in Vietnam was relegated to second place" at the Conference, according to the Zagreb daily, Vjesnik, of 26 October. The first result of the Conference can only be "more soldiers sent to Vietnam and new expansion of the war," the paper continued.

One of three articles on the subject in Borba of 27 October cited an AP report to the effect that a representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has rejected the recommendations of the Manila Conference, saying that he "will not consider the problem of peaceful discussions while the US is expanding its war front against the Vietnamese people." Another article cited an AP item regarding President Marcos' announcement that he had already begun his "initiatives for peace." The third article cited a Reuters dispatch to the effect that "President Johnson had to make this tour to raise the morale of American troops."

The Manila communique asks for "military and political capitulation," was Josip Vrhovec's conclusion in a letter to Vjesnik, published in its 27 October issue. Another article in the same issue cited reactions to the decisions of the Conference: Saigon regime (unfavorable), Great Britain (not hopeful), Japan (disappointed), and USSR (unfavorable).

President Johnson's visit to Bangkok was reported factually in the 29 October issue of Vjesnik, but it cited a Hanoi newspaper which said that "the documents of the conference are filled with the cynicism of Johnson and his lackeys."

Manila was "Johnson's blitz," according to the Republican Party, was reported in Borba of 31 October, while Vjesnik of 31 October gave a factual description of the President's visit to Kuala Lumpur and described the demonstrations in which one person was killed. Borba of 1 November also gave a factual account of the President's visit to Malaysia, but stressed the demonstrations. Vjesnik of 1 November described Mr. Johnson's visit to Seoul and said that a leader of the opposition party in the Malaysian Parliament had sent a telegram of protest to the President concerning the killing of a demonstrator in Kuala Lumpur.

In Borba's column entitled "In the World Today," on 2 November, D. Simic said that the President's tour was "an event which contributed nothing new or important, except to support the American engagement in Southeastern Asia." He said that "not even the powerful protests or its own public have been successful in turning the American Administration away from adventurism in Vietnam."

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"If it were not a matter of events so dramatic and so threatening to world peace, the conditions outlined by the Manila Conference would be laughable. There is nothing more absurd and grotesque than to seek an end to aggression of those who are only defending their land, trampled upon by the imperialist boots that smash whatever comes along their way-- not only the combatants but also the defenseless old people, women, and children. In advance it is known what Hanoi's reply will be: War to the death against the invaders!"

#### Dominican Republic

Santo Domingo moderate dailies Listin Diario (progressive) and El Caribe (independent) scanned for the period 25 October - 11 November provided only moderate coverage of factual UPI, AFP, or AP reports regarding the last leg of President Johnson's Asian tour. Neither daily concerned itself with editorial comment, choosing rather to focus on domestic economic and political problems.

#### Ecuador

Two Ecuadoran dailies were scanned for the period 10 October through 10 November: the Guayaquil Liberal independent El Universo and the Quito moderate Liberal independent El Comercio. El Universo carried no editorials on the President's trip but gave it routine wire service coverage on the international page. El Comercio published one editorial signed by Jorge Reyes on 29 October and reprinted the Jaime Miravittles editorial from El Mundo of Caracas, Venezuela, on 3 November 1966. Reyes' editorial, which was entitled "The Evacuation of Vietnam," praised the idea of withdrawal of North Vietnamese and US troops from South Vietnam, but expressed doubt that this Manila Conference proposal would be received with much sympathy by the North Vietnamese. The correspondent expressed hope that the unpopular war be terminated as soon as possible, but observed that the "major difficulty to the termination of the war is the fact that a great power is deeply involved in this war, and great powers have to save face." Aside from this editorial, El Comercio gave the trip and the Manila Conference only routine wire service coverage on the international page.

#### El Salvador

Two independent San Salvador dailies, moderate La Prensa Grafica and anti-Communist El Diario de Hoy, carried almost daily news agency stories and photographs from 25 October until 4 November. The only comment in either newspaper during this period was in a syndicated column by Jaime Miravittles which appeared 4 November in El Diario de Hoy. The column, entitled "The Significance of Manila," asserted that a hard line developed

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To a reader's question, Kukrit Pramot, editor of Siam Rat, replied in the 19 October issue that the Manila Conference cannot stop the war "because only one side is represented." He also said that President Johnson is not "deciding the fate of Asian countries" and that the conference will not bear much weight. "To answer your question about what value the conference has," he said, "I must say that it will be very important historically because it will be the first meeting of the 'American Commonwealth' in an annual series like that of the British Commonwealth."

A cartoon in Lak Muang of 26 October depicted President Johnson and North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh in a fight being referred by a figure labeled "Manila Conference." An editorial in the 27 October issue of this paper said, "We are happy to welcome President Johnson. The visit is a strong confirmation of the friendship between the two countries." The 29 October issue contained a biography of the President. There were photographs of him with various officials, including the King, in both the 29 and 30 October issues. The 1 November issue contained some items on the President's visit to Malaysia and a human interest story on a reception for US reporters.

A 26 October editorial in Siam Rat described the Manila statements and concluded that "we must wait to see what the Communists are going to do."

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Colonel Pal Magyari returned to the Manila Conference in the 9 November issue of Lobogo, calling it a "juggling trick." The purpose of the Conference and the trip, he wrote, was to gloss over the "increasing moral-political isolation" of the US. He said that the Vietnamese people will not participate in any peace talks which equate the aggressor and the victim, which do not include the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, or which take place while North Vietnam is being bombed. He again stamped the Conference as a war council aimed at stepping up military escalation.

An unsigned article in the 13 November issue of Budapest political weekly Magyarország, discussed "the Johnson doctrine, Americans in Asia." The author recalled the Spanish-American war, the Anti-Imperialism League which was formed in America at that time (with Mark Twain as a member), and the dreams of Theodore Roosevelt of a "Pacific Ocean Age" for the US. Now, the article continued, quoting from the Washington Post, Johnson, Rostow, McNamara, and Rusk have developed a Pacific doctrine, allegedly to realize the old dream of making the Pacific an "American lake." Quoting from various Western papers, the article compared the talk of aid with the bombing of villages. The Vietnamese "aggression," the article stated in conclusion, is the "crudest attempt" to realize the old American dream.

#### Poland

Press commentary on the President's Far Eastern tour and the Manila Conference was relatively light during the period 28 October-13 November. Expedient excerpts from the Western press complemented Polish Press Agency emphasis on anti-American demonstrations that occurred during the tour. However, for the most part, press coverage was fairly factual.

Editorial comment, on the other hand, stressed the planned military buildup by the US, and dubbed the tour a political maneuver.

A report in Trybuna Ludu of 4 November stated that although "President Johnson used peaceful phrases, ...he did not make any proposal or suggestion which could be taken seriously. ...The facts prove that, apart from making material and political preparations for further escalation of the war, President Johnson was concerned mainly with propaganda aims during his tour." The same article added: "though the...tour may enhance the popularity of his party in the United States, it can hardly improve the opinion of the United States abroad." The article cited the US promise of at least 400,000 troops in Vietnam by the end of 1966 as the "best criterion of the 'peaceful striving' of which President Johnson spoke."

The 2 November issue of Zycie Warszawy also referred to the tour as the "best election argument for the Democratic Party."

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A final editorial on the subject appeared in Excelsior on 4 November. Entitled "Unity for Peace," it dealt with President Johnson's appeal to the American people for "national unity" made upon his return to the United States. The editorial believed this appeal showed two things: first, it acknowledged that peace was not within view in Asia (and, therefore, the necessity of maintaining a united national effort); and second, the road to international peace can only be built on accord within the United States. "Based on this national support, the peace the United States is seeking is one of good will and the highest human interests," concluded the article.

Ultimas Noticias de Excelsior, the independent afternoon edition of Excelsior, continued to follow the President's trip in the period under review, using mostly AP reports, but it also carried two articles and a few cartoons. The first of the articles appeared on 27 October. This dealt with the President's statement to US troops in South Vietnam during his visit there that they were fighting to give the Vietnamese people the opportunity to construct their nation as they choose. The article continued: "US soldiers in Vietnam become anti-ideological soon after they are exposed to the realities of the war." It concluded that "US policy in Vietnam is a mixture of ideals and politics which can be very dangerous for the rest of the world."

"Epitaph for a Peace Offensive" by Raul Rangel Solano, appeared in Ultimas Noticias on 4 November. After pointing out how serious the Vietnamese war could become, especially now that Red China is developing a nuclear capability of its own, the article mentioned the new "humanist" war now proposed by President Johnson against disease, hunger, and illiteracy, which the writer felt are only a result of war. the conclusion was that "the goals were good, but the order wrong, for the battle against these misfortunes of mankind should have been waged first."

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The bottom half of the front page of People's Daily for 23 October was devoted to an "Observer" article entitled "Unmask US - Soviet Plot for New Eastern Munich." Accusing the US and the USSR of plotting together to sell out the Vietnamese people, the article said: "Now Lyndon Johnson has personally come to Asia to summon his lackeys to the conference table in Manila, plotting the expansion of the Vietnam war and, at the same time, playing the trick of forcing 'peace talks' through a 'pause in bombing.'... The US and the Soviet Union are acting in a planned way, having had full prior consultation."

In a similar vein, a page-5 story in the same issue quoted a long statement by the Afro-Asian Writers Bureau on "the latest conspiracy of 'peace talks' on Vietnam being hatched by the US imperialists in collaboration with the Soviet modern revisionists." "The Manila Conference of a few countries" is listed as one of the "Various manifestations of this despicable plot." Another item on the same page quoted the Australian newspaper Vanguard, highly critical of "US -- Soviet collusion" and President Johnson's visit to Australia. Alongside was a photograph of Johnson and Gromyko, captioned "In Collusion for Seditious Purposes."

The theme of "peace-talk swindles to camouflage war expansion" was repeated by Ch'en I in a speech reported on page 1 of the 24 October issue of People's Daily. Page 5 of the same issue rehashed the demonstrations in Australia and carried two pictures of the paint-spattered car and Secret Service men. A group of short items summarized unfavorable press comments from Cambodia, Pakistan, and Syria, and a longer item quoted a North Vietnam Foreign Ministry spokesman to the effect that the Manila Conference is a war conference organized by the US.

The "hostile reaction" of the Philippine people was dwelt on in several articles, one photograph, and an editorial note in the 26 October People's Daily. Also, Prince Sihanouk was quoted in a dispatch from Phnom Penh as saying that the three-power conference in New Delhi was advancing the plans of the Manila Conference.

The first coverage of the conference itself was a short article in the 27 October issue which listed the participants and summarized the joint communique, apparently drawing on Manila press reports, AFP, and the Christian Science Monitor for its sources. Using strongly slanted language, it reiterated the theme that "the US President, who has suffered repeated defeats,... asked his six vassals to serve the US tactic of 'forcing peace-talks through war' and the new stratagem of using the advertisement of 'peace' to cover up expansion of the war." The article quoted sparingly from the joint communique -- if only to distort and denounce it. The proposal for withdrawal of US troops within 6 months "after the other side withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides" was called "out-and-out blackmail" and "shameless humbug." The article quoted Johnson as calling for "economic, social, and cultural cooperation" to "build in this area.... a region of security and order and progress." "In

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Denmark

The pattern and tenor of Danish press coverage of President Johnson's journey and of the Manila Conference was continued through the general reporting period, 20 October-3 November; with a few exceptions, news agency reports appeared daily. During this review period, Berlingske Tidende, which had editorialized liberally earlier, carried only one editorial and one analytical article by its Washington correspondent. Another non-Communist newspaper presented three editorials, and the third, none. Communist Land og Folk had one.

Social Democratic Aktuelt, which had carried an editorial headed "Johnson, the Realist" on 18 October, offered no editorial comment during the 20 October-1 November period. Six wire service dispatches, or reports based on information supplied by news agencies, appeared without significant comment. Photographs and news items revealed anti-US feeling in expressions such as "Bloody encounters between students and military personnel." On 26 October, a UPI-based item on page 2 was headlined: "The Manila Conference Concluded Without Any Peace Efforts That Can Possibly Succeed." A more hopeful attitude was reflected in the 29 October issue, in the title, "Peace at Last"; however, the article merely summarized the President's Bangkok speech in a UPI report, generously sprinkled with quotations. No further mention occurred in subsequent available issues of Aktuelt.

Independent Information (19 October-1 November) provided daily, factual coverage through wire service dispatches, mainly RB-Reuter. The paper also carried three rather noncommittal editorials during the reporting period.

In the first of these editorials, which appeared in the 19 October issue, Gidske Anderson, Information's New York correspondent, made the following reference to the Asian journey: "Johnson...planned his trip to Asia in the midst of the election campaign to raise the Vietnam problem above the parties."

In a preconference dispatch from Manila, Information correspondent Paul E. Svejstrup reported "a tendency among Philippine political observers to expect that the Conference will be either a howling fiasco or the start of a new, heavy escalation of the war in Vietnam to bring it to a speedy conclusion."

Jens Adler, foreign affairs editor of Information, in the 22-23 October issue, wrote: "The trip could perhaps also be called an inspection tour of the political and military power bricks with which the US currently seeks to contain China. In this respect, the President's trip will quite likely be more reassuring to him than it would have been only six months or a year ago." New York Times editor James Reston's humorous account of a conversation between President Johnson's uncle Ezra and his physician appeared in a box on the same page.

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La Republica, the semiofficial AD government organ, published a detailed chronology of U.S. peace proposals in Vietnam in its 22 October issue, stressing President Johnson's attempts to bring peace to Vietnam since 1960 which have culminated in the Manila Conference. The unsigned article, which dominated half of the editorial page, emphasized the many U.S. attempts to bring peace and Hanoi's many rejections of U.S. offers.

The same day, in its "Glosas Amables" column, La Republica published a two-paragraph article under the title "Peace Via Lead?" It is possible that this article, also unsigned, was written by Teddy Cordoba, the daily's notoriously anti-U.S. cable editor. The article criticized both the USSR and the U.S. for "expressing a lively love for peace...while the USSR sends arms to Vietnam and the U.S. continues to bomb its heart out." The article added that "there is little hope North Vietnam is going to give a more moderate answer to North American peace proposals when the proposals are accompanied by so much hot lead."

El Universal, a conservative daily with one of the largest circulations in Venezuela, reprinted an article entitled "Johnson Will Find Conferees Divided," attributed to E.E. and datelined New York, on 24 October. The article stated that the differences between the Asians, as well as between the North Americans (Johnson and Rusk), were so profound that the conference may end with a pretense of approval of some formula agreed upon while, privately, the conferees actually are sincerely opposed or maintain passive resistance to any proposed negotiation. President Marcos' expressed desire to have the seven nations come to some agreement on a common policy for peace and cessation of hostilities, the article concluded, stands little chance of being carried out, as even the U.S. itself has been unable to make the South Vietnamese military junta accept the idea of a negotiated settlement.

The anti-AD government conservative daily La Verdad published a highly favorable editorial, signed by "Argus," in its daily "Under the Sign of the West" column on 28 October. The article concentrated on President Johnson's unscheduled trip to Cam Ranh Bay, stating that "our man extended his strong and friendly hand to the beleaguered people...and Uncle Sam's brave nephews...who are protecting, preserving, and increasing the value of a civilization surrounded by the new barbarians." In these hours when the destiny of the world may hinge on a toss of the dice, the article concluded, "President Lyndon Johnson's intelligent, brave, noble, and generous gesture is highly gratifying."

El Universal published an article by Julio Antonio Roy, one of its Washington correspondents, on the U.S. presence in the Pacific on 2 November. Most of the article was concerned with a history of increasing U.S. involvement in the Pacific since 1898. The correspondent was optimistic about a solution of the Vietnam situation which would be favorable to the U.S., pointing out that Indonesia has already left the Peiping camp and rejoined

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throughout his trip, was unable to stop in Saigon," and asked if there should really be cause for astonishment that "at the very moment when President Johnson finished his prestige tour, an American poll revealed that his prestige had appreciably lowered in Europe."

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Czechoslovakia

Comment on the Manila Conference in the Czechoslovak press from 26 October to 11 November 1966 stressed the "futility" of the Conference. The Karel Doudera commentary in the Prague Rude Pravo of 27 October asserted that the purpose of the Conference was to "pretend something that is contrary to reality," namely, that the war in Vietnam is an "Asian" rather than an American war. The commentary also assessed the Conference proposals as unacceptable conditions for capitulation.

The Prague Mlada Fronta of 29 October commented that the Conference discussion was conducted without the presence of the real representatives of Vietnam and without regard to the most burning questions.

The Prague Zemedske Noviny of 2 November saw the Manila Conference as nothing more than a new camouflage variant for continuing a war that would result in the capitulation of the Vietnamese "patriots," a war that is an "American war." The commentary asserted that the real purpose of the Conference was to prepare the participating countries for "greater sacrifices, for a prolonged war."

The Bratislava Pravda consistently reported on President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference without any comment.

East Germany

During the final period of the President's Asian trip, the East German press continued its general denunciation of the Manila Conference, stressing also the protest demonstrations which greeted the President in various places. The 25 October issue of the East Berlin National-Zeitung, organ of the East German National Front party, NDPD (National Democratic Party), said in a front-page editorial the President was conferring in Manila with a "handful of government leaders in the service of the dollar," that the Conference was a kind of show to make the public think that Washington was not alone in its "aggression," but was supported by an "international collective." "Manila is Johnson's attempt to break out of the US isolation in this dirty war.... No one, not even American observers and publicists, believe that the conference will serve the cause of peace...but it is actually a war council for the purpose of further escalation. His trip has erroneously been described as a mission of hope, but such hope can only be of an internal-US nature since all countries are against the war," the paper said.

The 27 October issue of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) central daily, Neues Deutschland, cited Hanoi's statement that "Manila cannot wash clean the dirty war," and further commented in its 28 October issue: "The fog of Manila has vanished. The naked results of the war

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The only comment on President Johnson's Asian trip carried by Orienter during the period under review was included in a 5 November article titled "China Rocket" by "Kgr.", who said, "Naturally, the timing of the first Chinese rocket explosion was to serve as a strong argument against the US-dominated Manila Conference, which resolved to escalate the war in Vietnam. The argument was heard."

Friheten merely commented indirectly by quoting from the Christian People's Party daily Vart Land, Oslo, - "which usually agrees with US undertakings," Friheten noted, "but is dissatisfied with the Manila Conference" - as follows on 28 October: "President Johnson is reported to have said, during the Conference, that the primary result, in his opinion, was that the world should now understand the determination which characterized the Conference participants with respect to the Vietnam problem. If this is the Conference's lone result, we [Vart Land] must say it is not much, and even less encouraging. It points toward continued war and a deadlocking of the position the US and its allies have long maintained. This, of course, is a problem also."

#### Portugal

During the period 23 October to 7 November, only two issues of the National Union daily Diario da Manha and one issue of the independent republican daily O Seculo contained editorial comment on the President's trip to Asia. The liberal republican daily Republica published only factual items during this period.

The 26 October issue of Diario da Manha contained an editorial that was effectively summed up in its last paragraph: "The conditions set forth in Manila offer no true guarantee of peace; they are a pure waste of time. If the US backs down and pulls out, it might just as well turn over to Ho Chi Minh everything which he has so far not been able to get by waging a war for it."

The editorial that appeared in the 28 October issue of this newspaper commented briefly on the situation that would exist if the US and the Vietcong were to arrive at some agreement calling for the withdrawal of both US and Vietcong troops. Such an arrangement, it said, would mean that the US would bring its troops back to their bases in North America while the Vietcong would retire to North Vietnam; it would also mean, however, that as soon as the US troops had departed, the Vietcong would be free to occupy South Vietnam again and resubjugate the entire people there, with the Chinese Communists becoming the real victors in the war. "This is what makes an agreement [between the US and North Vietnam] so difficult to reach," the editorial concluded.

The other issues of Diario da Manha carried almost daily factual reports of the President's trip as reported by the ANI, AFP, and Reuters press service.

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On 25 October, both El Comercio and Expreso published editorials pointing out that the Manila Conference is eloquent confirmation of a sincere desire for peace on the part of the United States and its six allies. The editorial in El Comercio said: "The presence of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, in Manila gives special confirmation that the U.S. is ready for an amicable arrangement. President Johnson went to Manila with an indubitably peaceful intention. Of course this attitude does not mean that Communist conditions will be accepted a priori. Offers will have to be examined to see if they are truly in the interest of peace. Before the world, the Manila Conference constitutes eloquent proof that the free nations of Southeast Asia, with the United States at their head, are ready to eliminate the obstacles that seem to prevent the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. On this level, China and its satellites will have to show the same attitude. If they do not, the gigantic publicity campaign that has emanated from Peiping against the Yankee aggressor will collapse. Thus, the false image of North American aggression will disappear, and there will remain in its place the conviction that the free world is heroically resisting the clear and definite war purpose of Red China." The Expreso editorial, expressing much the same thought, noted: "It is clear that diverse interests and feelings will be operating in the Manila Conference. The proximity of the theater of operations and the fear of an atomic conflagration, as a corollary to the Vietnam war, act in favor of peace, but the fear of Communist expansion in Southeast Asia favors the thesis of those who desire to continue the battle regardless of the cost in order to prevent the possibility of said expansion. Peace under such conditions can come only as the fruit of very hard negotiations...nevertheless, we hope there will be a discernable approach toward effective agreements...leading to peaceful solution of the Vietnam problem."

Conservative La Prensa, which is nationalistic when it feels that Peruvian interests are threatened but is usually a supporter of U.S. foreign policy, in its editorial on 28 October, commented: "The allied proposal is clear and precise; in 6 months the United States will withdraw its forces from Vietnam and will stop the bombings when the Communists cease fire and withdraw to their positions prior to the conflict. This Communist invasion was prepared under the euphemism of war of liberation, concealing the true nature of the general staff directing it....The agreement signed in Manila by the U.S. and its six allies states the decision to continue the defense of South Vietnam as long as the conditions of aggression and threat to the peace of its peoples continue. ...But peace is a possibility for this troubled region if the Communist forces decide to return to positions held before the conflict began. The U.S. is interested only in the peace and freedom of the people threatened by aggression, armed and organized by Communism."

Comment in independent Correo attempted to put the Vietnam war and the Manila Conference in an international frame of reference. On 30 October, the weekly "In the World" political comment column, headed "Summits

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## SOUTH AND EAST ASIA

Press coverage of President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference in the South and East Asian press increased considerably during the latter part of October. The newspapers in most of these countries commented editorially on the results of the Manila Conference and in general followed established lines. The Cambodian press continued to denounce the President and the Conference and concluded that the Vietnamese patriots can "look forward to an idyllic future of prosperity and opulence -- under US slavery." The press of such noncommitted nations as Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, and India generally expressed cautious hope that the Manila Conference would lead to peace in Vietnam. The Ceylon Daily News suggested that Hanoi hold a similar dialogue with its allies. The press of Malaysia and Thailand continued to devote very extensive coverage to the President's visit there.

Cambodia

French-language Cambodian newspapers during the period 24 October-10 November continued to denounce the President's trip and the Manila Conference.

In an editorial in the 25 October issue of La Depeche du Cambodge, a leftist French-language daily published in Phnom Penh, editorialist Tep Chhieu Kheng said that Cambodia was not going to be drawn into the "game" of the Manila Conference and that Prince Sihanouk had already been obliged to spend some time issuing denials. He said, "Now that the Manila Conference is composed only of 'sectarians' -- the word is Prince Sihanouk's -- the US has nothing to worry about. The valets will have to conform to the directives of the master."

An item in Realites Cambodgiennes, a French-language semiofficial weekly published in Phnom Penh, on 21 October 1966, quoted a portion of President Johnson's speech in Hawaii on various races living together in mutual respect and commented: "It is not surprising that Johnson gives [Hawaii] as a model to the Philippines and to Vietnam, which are counted in the eyes of the Americans as future stars for their flag. The US leaders are decidedly not overflowing with decency."

One conclusion drawn in a 28 October editorial in La Depeche du Cambodge entitled "After Manila" was that the war will escalate and "military operations will become more savage. The Vietnamese patriots are still required to lay down their arms. In return they can look forward to an idyllic future of prosperity and opulence -- under US slavery."

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Uusi Suomi thought that the demonstrators who insist on seeing the US as a practitioner of modern "gunboat diplomacy" apparently had not thought deeply about the matter since some of the countries which participated in the Conference are more rigid in their policy than is the US. The paper felt that although the military contribution of some of the participants at the Manila Conference is small, their "symbolic" participation should not be underestimated, for it indicates that they believe in the "domino theory." The paper thought that one of the greatest achievements of the President's trip was to "correct errors in perspective" in at least some of the Western countries.

In its editorial on 27 October, Communist Kansan Uutiset saw the US position only as having stiffened militarily. It called the Manila Conference "a first-class show" preceded by an "overwhelming advertising campaign about the US desire for peace." The paper interpreted the parts of the Communique which said that "military and all other efforts" will be continued "as firmly and as long as may be necessary" as indicating that the real purpose in Manila was to increase US military activity and to stiffen the US position in Vietnam. The paper felt that President Johnson might be trying to acquire the support of the rightist elements in the US in the elections by his "stiffened position." This position, the paper thought, was in sharp contrast to that of the rest of the world with the Socialist, non-aligned and NATO countries supporting U Thant's Vietnam demands. Kansan Uutiset said that the Manila Communique, "in which the US merely cited its hard demands on its adversaries without itself promising anything", shows how far the US has "drifted from its friends." The paper said that it remained to be seen whether after the US elections there would be a change in the US position which the entire world is awaiting.

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Japan Times coverage in the period 22-27 October included the following commentary by Masatsugu Tsugawa on 22 October: "Japanese Government officials place a high value on the seven-nation Manila Conference but they feel that the possibilities are slim that a fresh attempt will be made to solve the Vietnam question peacefully."

Shinroku Nozaki's "Over the Horizon" column in Japan Times of 24 October compared the Manila Conference with the Communist Bloc meeting held in Moscow a week earlier and estimated that both are intended to demonstrate the solidarity of the participating nations.

A Japan Times editorial on 26 October mused that war will continue in Vietnam, that President Johnson will bow to further escalation of the US effort in Vietnam, and that Japan will try not to become involved.

A Japan Times editorial on 27 October concluded that the Manila Conference has helped increase the growth of responsible political consciousness in this part of Asia and that the communique issued by the conference envisages a peace plan whereby the Communists must abandon their ambitions in Indochina; it wondered whether the Communists will consent to this abandonment.

#### Laos

Lao Presse in French and Khao Pacham Van in Lao, both daily publications of the Ministry of Information, Vientiane, provided heavy coverage of the President's trip and the Manila Conference in their foreign news sections in the period 29 October - 2 November. Neither carried any commentary, which is not unusual since there is seldom any commentary except on domestic affairs in either of these papers.

#### Malaysia

The coverage given to President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference by the Kuala Lumpur daily Berita Harian between 18 and 31 October ranged from light to very heavy. The paper provided little space to the President's visits to New Zealand and Australia, but coverage increased proportionately as the Manila Conference got under way and the President neared Manila.

On 18 October, the paper published a lengthy news item reporting the President's departure from Washington and saying that threats have been made against the President's life in Australia and New Zealand. The paper also reported that Malaysian Minister of Information Inche Senu had told a political rally that the President's visit was a great honor for the

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between Malaysia and the US," and chided the President for staying 3 days in Thailand but only one day in Malaysia.

On 2 November, Le Monde quoted General Eisenhower and Senator Morse in such a manner as to suggest that the use of atomic weapons and/or invasion of North Vietnam is imminent. With a Seoul dateline, the paper then gave a brief factual account of President Johnson's visits to several points in South Korea.

A first-page unsigned editorial in the issue of 3 November summarized the paper's views on President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference. At the start of the trip, Le Monde took the view that it was primarily for internal political purposes, and in the summary it found it successful from that point of view. With respect to offering any hope of ending the war, however, Le Monde viewed the trip as having had no value. "We are at the same point, that is to say, each camp continues to hope that the other will be worn out first."

The last article found in Le Monde was a resume written in Washington by special correspondent Alain Clement and published in the issue of 6/7 November. Clement found that the President's trip and the conference had not advanced the prospect for peace, but rather had retarded it. In the tour, and in the various statements and speeches made by President Johnson, Clement found a mounting resolve to see the thing through, a mounting personal involvement on the part of the President, and what Clement termed "an escalation of justification."

On 26 October, Le Figaro published a fairly detailed analysis of the Manila communique by Jacques Jacquet-Francillon with the following major points: (1) The conditions set forth for withdrawal of foreign troops are so vague as to be useless. US and South Vietnamese spokesmen were reported to have given drastically differing interpretations of these conditions. (2) There can be no doubt that the war will go on. The compromising attitude of the Allies is expressed in the stated and implied intention to prove that "aggression does not pay." The proposed reforms within South Vietnam which Mr. Johnson describes as "the true war against Communism" which will open a "second front" against the VC - these are at present only plans the realization of which is desirable but uncertain. (3) The grandiose plans for Asia to be implemented after the war will demand the achievement of peace, now apparently far off, or at least a dramatic de-escalation of the war, and the cooperation of Japan.

On 27 October, Jacquet-Francillon presented his personal narrative of President Johnson's visit to Cam Ranh in a factual manner, sympathetic in tone. Next to this account appeared an article datelined New York and signed by Leo Sauvage, Le Figaro's regular correspondent in New York, stating flatly that "the declaration [of Manila] did not satisfy anyone."

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was a generous amount of factual coverage, there was only scant comment. Only the Istanbul Cumhuriyet (independent) carried any commentary on the trip, although some anti-US editorializing was observed in certain headlines and sub-headlines of the Ankara daily Vatan (leftist) on 25 October, and in the opposition organ, Ulus, of 28 October.

An editorial by Kayhan Saglamer in the 25 October issue of Cumhuriyet took up the subject of the Manila Conference. The writer noted the two main opinion sectors regarding Vietnam, the Hawks and Doves, and asserted that with the 8 November elections approaching, the President attempted to satisfy both sectors in his first speech in Honolulu. He added, however, that in so doing the President had completely nullified the effect of his speech. Saglamer observed that at the Manila Conference the President continued to appease both sides.

Another Saglamer editorial, in Cumhuriyet of 27 October, agreed with President Johnson's prediction that nothing spectacular was to be expected from the Conference. He did note that the most important point in the joint Communiqué concerned the South Vietnamese Government's promise to request the Allied forces to withdraw. He opined that this decision had the intent of raising the international prestige of Saigon. Saglamer went on to emphasize, however, that there is a gradually increasing dissatisfaction among US Allies regarding the struggle in Vietnam, and further, that President Johnson is also facing increased opposition at home.

The other newspapers reviewed were the Istanbul independent Hurriyet and Milliyet.

#### United Arab Republic

A 23 October - 3 November survey of the Cairo dailies al-Ahram and al-Akhbar showed that coverage of the President's trip and the Manila Conference was based mainly on reports by various news agencies. The coverage was definitely uncomplimentary and was highlighted by headlines which constantly harped upon the demonstrations to show the unpopularity of President Johnson and US policy ("Bloody Battle in front of Johnson's Hotel, in Manila," "Anti-Vietnam War Demonstrators Fired Upon," and "Scores Killed and Wounded in Anti-Johnson Demonstrations in Maylasia") and the escalation of the war in Vietnam ("Manila Conference Begins Amidst Probable Escalation," "America Informs Conference of its Opposition to Stopping Raids on North Vietnam," and "American Vietnam Commander Asks Manila Conference to Increase Forces"). The attitude of the government-controlled press was exemplified by the report that the "West is prepared to withdraw its forces if the Liberation Movement is stopped," and by reference to the critical comments of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. The bulk of the blatant derogatory coverage was carried by al-Akhbar, while al-Ahram, the unofficial government mouthpiece, tried to appear more impartial.

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94 percent of the population of Asia live. There is no doubt that the new bloc -- a nameless aggressor -- awaits the same shameful end to which its titled twins are drawing near."

In a 5 November Pravda article (page 3), Ol'ga Chechetkina noted that "the Manila Conference did not appear on the front pages of the world press. It introduced nothing new and especially nothing sensational. Nonetheless, hardly anyone expected that any decisions would be made in Manila which had not already been determined in Washington."

According to the writer, "the basic point of the Manila statement" was in the form of an "open ultimatum to the patriotic forces of resistance of the Vietnamese people," who are "fighting the American interventionists," to withdraw.

"The conclusion drawn from this," Chechetkina stated, "is the fact that the trip of the President not only did not introduce 'peaceful ways' of resolving the Vietnamese problem, but on the contrary, led to new complications and the increase of military actions in Vietnam."

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Nicaragua

The two Managua daily newspapers available for review in the period 26 October-6 November continued to give prominent coverage to President Johnson's Asian trip and the Manila Conference, with numerous wire service stories and photographs following each stop on the trip. The Catholic opposition daily La Noticia presented editorial opinion in three issues during this period, with an editorial calling the Manila Conference "a forum to show seven nations' firm stand against aggression and their search for peace" and emphasizing the importance of pacification in South Vietnam after the hostilities cease; an article comparing the Moscow and Manila conferences, asserting that both are intent on ending the Vietnam conflict and concluding that Hanoi must agree to peace if North Vietnam is not to be annihilated; and another article giving the President's statements in Malaysia on the hope for the future.

Conservative anti-Somoza daily La Prensa presented factual reports following all stages of the President's trip in this period: in Manila during the conference, to Cam Ranh Bay, the arrival in Thailand, his peace appeal in Bangkok, then to Malaysia, South Korea, and then to Anchorage. Beginning 26 October and continuing every day through 4 November (except 3 November) this daily carried one or more AP stories and photographs. Typical of headlines for these stories were the following: "Manila Conference Seeks Way to End War" (26 October), "Johnson Visits Battlefield" and "Hanoi and Peiping Quiet on Peace Offer" (27 October), "LBJ Says in Bangkok Allies Strong" (29 October).

La Noticia's editorial, on 26 October, stressed the importance of the Manila Conference as a contribution toward finding peace for Vietnam, saying, however: "It is pertinent to point out again that the Manila meeting cannot be fully a peace conference, considering that the other side is not represented. But since the U.S. and its allies favor a new Geneva Conference, a conference of all Asian countries, or any talks to negotiate, the Manila conclave perhaps will lead to a peace conference where all interested parties are represented." The editorial continued: "We have said that the meeting in Manila is not really a peace conference, but neither is it a strategy meeting proposing to intensify the war. It is in reality a forum where seven nations came to show their firmness against aggression and their decision to find a peaceful and honorable solution to the conflict. The Manila Conference is giving great attention to the social and economic development programs in South Vietnam, without which a military victory would be temporary and ephemeral.... The representatives will also give time to long-range projects for Asia."

The editorial seemed confident that the U.S. would consider any legitimate peace proposals, mentioning the recent Hungarian UN delegate's statements to the effect that Hanoi is ready to negotiate and Ambassador Goldberg's reiteration of U.S. readiness to discuss serious peace proposals.

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West Germany

The West German press reviewed for the general period 26 October - 4 November carried extensive coverage of the President's Asian trip and the Manila Conference, which received front-page attention on several days. Comments ranged from cautious optimism, especially over the proposal for mutual troop withdrawal, to a general discrediting (in one or two papers) of the purpose and results of the trip and the Conference.

A front-page editorial in the 27 October issue of the Frankfurt/Main Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (right-center) entitled "The Doves and the Hawks in Manila," by Adelbert Weinstein, said the conference was both a war conference and a peace conference, that the offer for mutual withdrawal on either side of the 17th parallel was both a peace gesture and an ultimatum. "This combination speaks for the superiority of American diplomacy; it is a classic compromise"; it bridges the gap between the hard and soft-liners at the Conference, the article said, adding, "Johnson and his advisers have played a great political game in Manila.... It seems that the US has introduced a new phase in world policy.... Its strategy is to isolate China..." The military part of US strategy appears more flexible, Weinstein said -- a fact which both calms and scares its allies in Asia, but the US, in developing the confidence of its Asian allies, must not forget its close ties with Europe.

The Munich Sueddeutsche Zeitung (independent) of the same date said that the Conference was a "mere demonstration of the will for peace" and that it would not strengthen the President's chances in the US Congressional elections. "The war in Vietnam will continue, probably more intensively," it said. The 26 October issue of this paper pointed to the President's efforts to remain in the background at the Conference while, nevertheless, succeeding in putting through his line. It said the Conference represented the first attempt to replace the fragile SEATO pact with a new grouping and that, without surrendering ground under pressure, the President was ready for a compromise marked by a spirit of reconciliation.

The Frankfurt/Main Frankfurter Rundschau (left-center) on 26 October referred to the "high-flown phrases" with which the Conference ended, saying, "Certainly, propaganda is part of politics... But one might have expected more substance and realism from the statesmen who presented great visions of the future at Manila. Of what use are lovely words when political facts block all progress? To have made progress, it would have been necessary for the Conference to set up a few realistic road markers in addition to peace goals. The recent US peace proposals made by Ambassador Goldberg at the UN pointed in the right direction. They should have been deepened at Manila.... If Washington seriously

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The 25 October issue provided a largely factual report on President Johnson's statements at the Manila Conference with the comment that "When thinking about Johnson's statement that aggression does not pay, one has a right to think that the South Vietnamese patriots will conquer, because, after all, is it not the US which is the aggressor in Vietnam?" The report added: "Who is the aggressor in Vietnam? To what bullies of the world does he refer? We realize that the diplomats in the White House are always haunted by the Vietnamese nightmare to the point of losing their senses." The 26 October issue carried a largely factual report on the Manila Conference communique with the following comment: "Concerning the Manila Conference, one can already conclude that there is a lack of sincerity on the part of the 'seven' of Manila...One can only 'digest' with considerable difficulty such a solution which does not offer to carry out a simultaneous troop withdrawal." The 27 October issue noted Australian Prime Minister Holt's "lack of optimism, which is perhaps based on the insincere spirit of the 'seven' of Manila who seek to deceive the North Vietnamese people by making them this 'offer' to withdraw their forces 6 months before those of the allies."

The 15 October issue of Dipanda provided no coverage of the topics reviewed, while the 22 October issue carried a purely factual report without comment.

The 30 October, 6 and 13 November issues of La Semaine made no mention of the President's trip or the Manila Conference.

#### Congo (Kinshasa)

- Of the Kinshasa press reviewed for the general period 14 October - 11 November, only the independent daily L'Etoile du Congo and the anti-Tshombe, pro-Binze Le Progres made any mention of the President's trip. The former carried two factual AFP releases on 28 October and a photograph on 4 November. Le Progres carried ACP-Reuter dispatches and factual items on the trip. No commentaries were published.

The following three Kinshasa newspapers reviewed made no mention of the trip: Le Courrier d'Afrique (independent progovernment daily), Les Actualités Africaines (progovernment weekly), and Lolaka ya Armee Congolaise (semimonthly organ of the ANC).

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news media, both al-Akhbar and al-Nida carried editorials and comments on the Presidential trip and the Manila Conference.

In an article in its 30 October issue, Communist al-Akhbar asserted that the Manila Conference exposed US intentions to expand the Vietnam war, and that the documents signed in Manila had, in fact, been prepared in Washington and not in Manila. The Conference, according to this article, was not Asian, but a "council of war convened by Johnson with a handful of his lackeys. The President failed to cover up America's crime or hide new criminal intentions.... It was an exposed conspiracy, a cheap maneuver, and a flimsy demonstration of America's power and influence in Asia."

Communist al-Nida's extensive coverage of the trip and of the Manila Conference was based on Soviet, East German, North Vietnamese, and other hostile news media whose "factual" reporting and editorializing on both events were predictably vitriolic and wholly negative. "General Condemnation of Manila Conference," "Anti-Johnson Demonstrations Sweep Malaysia," "Anti-American Demonstrations in Manila," were samples of the many glaring headlines of the twisted and distorted "factual" accounts carried by that paper. A commentary by V. Yevremov headed "The Manila Conference is a Council of War Disguised as a Council of Peace," and another by Tass Washington correspondent Sergei Vishnevskiy headed "The Manila Act Will Not Deceive Anyone," appeared in al-Nida's 26 October issue.

In an original editorial headed "Reasons Behind Johnson's Trip to Asia and the Far East," al-Nida commented that the Vietnam War "is not only criminal, but hopeless." The US, "with its 400,000 troops engaged in the war, has failed to smash the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people," the editorial went on to say; "and, for this reason, it is now planning new aggressive projects." According to the editorial, "it was precisely this objective which led Secretary McNamara to visit South Vietnam, and Johnson to embark on his Far Eastern trip." The editorial observed that "the aggressors will never succeed in accomplishing their thieving projects, for Vietnam has powerful friends who have been providing and will continue to provide it with every necessary economic, political, and military assistance." In closing, the editorial warned that the "Soviet Union and the other socialist states will reply to the escalation of the aggression by increased support to the people of Vietnam."

In another editorial on the Manila Conference, al-Nida asserted that the results of that Conference "were no better than those of American imperialism's savage raids on the heroic Vietnamese people." The writer, Yusuf Khattar al-Hilu, attributed "America's shaky diplomatic and military positions" in Southeast Asia to the "heroic resistance" of the Vietnamese, "the firm Soviet stand on principle," and "the position of France and its support of the Vietnamese people." Al-Hilu said that "neither the supreme war council...nor Johnson's visits....can change the course of events in Southeast Asia." The writer quoted extensively from President De Gaulle's

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L'Aurore's additional coverage was confined largely to brief, unsigned articles of a factual nature, but sympathetic in tone. The issue of 28 October carried an article signed by Henri Surugue which described the President's departure from Manila and arrival in Thailand. Surugue stressed the President's determination to stop the spread of Communism, but concluded with the opinion that the way to peace would be long and rough. A second signed article, written by Merriman Smith in Kuala-Lumpur on 30 October, described the President's visit to Malaysia in considerable detail, and made reference to his stay in Bangkok where, said Smith, "The American President addressed to Hanoi a new appeal for peace, which has scarcely more chance of being heard than the preceding ones." The issues of 1 and 2 November carried brief, factual articles with some quotations, but no commentary.

In a page one article in the 25 October issue of La Nation, headed "The Conference of Manila: The US and its allies want to Prove that 'Aggression Does Not Pay,'" Yves Michelet undertook to predict the principal conclusions to be expected from the Conference, and with remarkable accuracy. As in earlier articles in La Nation, the tone was sober and conciliatory. Michelet acknowledged the good intentions of the US and its reliability in keeping commitments, but insisted that whatever the ideological considerations may be, the fact remains that South Vietnam is being utterly destroyed by the war. He quoted Couve de Murville's statement at the UN. "If there remains nothing but ruins and mourning, what value do the interventions have, no matter where they come from?" And Michelet concluded with the solemn question, "Is the crusade which the Americans are leading really commensurate with the dangers which it derive from it for the very survival of a people? The Conference members believe that it is. The rest of the world is disturbed."

On 26 October, apparently disappointed by the Manila communique, La Nation ran an unsigned front-page editorial beginning, "The Conference of Manila is terminated, but it has not produced the slightest detail likely to resolve the most grave world crisis since the crisis of Cuba. ....The eleven pages of the communique contain nothing new ... The Asian 'Summit' has at most responded to the internal political imperatives of certain heads of state or government at the moment when elections are about to occur in their respective countries." La Nation's editorial complained, "The sole definite proposition was the promise of the seven allied powers in the conflict to withdraw their troops, 'after close consultation', six months after Hanoi will have withdrawn its troops and after the Vietcong will have ceased their subversive action in the interior. Many observers ask themselves what are the reasons which have pushed the authors of the communique to make such a proposition. A promise of simultaneous withdrawal would have had, they consider, at least the advantage of realism."

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the demonstrations welcoming Johnson." It was pointed out that Manila could not cover up the fact that "there is an effort afoot to replace SEATO, three of whose members, France, UK and Pakistan, refuse to extend aid to the US aggression in an area covered by the agreement."

The paper took advantage of the meeting of the International Organization of Journalists in Berlin to run a series on North Vietnam, carried "exclusively in l'Humanite and I Avgi," on its front page, giving the typical Communist view of the war. The paper's emphasis on the less favorable aspects of the President's trip continued to the end of the period, with a photograph of a Vietnamese child behind barbed wire with the caption, "Why, Mr. Johnson?" and another of the demonstrations in Manila.

### Iraq

The Iraqi daily press for the period 23 October - 3 November reported unfavorably on the trip of President Johnson, with news items emphasizing the demonstrations and threats against the President's life. The main tenor of the newswire releases, which comprised the bulk of the reporting, was usually introduced by uncomplimentary headlines, such as "Johnson's Reception in Maylasian Capital Turns into a Slaughter" (al-Fajr al-Jadid, 31 October). The favorable aspects of the President's trip and the Manila Conference were usually given nominal attention and often placed amidst derogatory news items which diminished the positive effects of the former. A good example of this was a 25 October page one report by al-Jumhuriyyah which was headlined by "Continual Clashes in Manila." The article then carried, in the following order, a UP report on the demonstrations; brief quotes from the opening remarks by Presidents Marcos and Johnson at Manila; Hanoi's criticism of the Manila Conference as a "war council"; and a detailed description of the anti-US demonstrations.

A 26 October editorial by al-Jumhuriyyah, dealing with the Conference, alleged that the solution to Vietnam will be difficult to achieve since the US continues to hold to its old view and in light of the fact that it has decided in favor of a Korea-type situation. A 23 October editorial by al-Thawrah al-'Arabiyyah cited RNS and AP reports of demonstrations in New Zealand to show how unpopular the US stand on the Vietnam war is, especially in New Zealand. On 28 October, the paper used the Manila demonstrations as a basis for asserting that the Asians are opposed to the "aggressive" US policy in Vietnam which they also see as a "plot against the freedom of Southeast Asia." It further stated that according to the world press the Manila Conference will only harden the unity of the Vietnamese people who are striving for peace, stability and freedom, and concluded that the meeting of representatives of one side can not lead to peace but only to an intensification of aggressive efforts and an aggravation of the situation. This is why, the paper concluded, the peoples oppose such a conference.

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Switzerland

The review of three Swiss newspapers for reaction to President Johnson's Asian tour and the Manila Conference was continued through the 21 October-1 November issues of independent Neue Zuercher Zeitung and Liberal Democratic Journal de Geneve, and through the 24 October-5 November issues of Communist La Voix Ouvriere. Neue Zuercher Zeitung gave heavy coverage, with three to nine factual wire service dispatches daily and ample, generally favorable commentary in special correspondents' reports and editorials. Journal de Geneve carried one or more wire service reports, usually on the last page, about every other day, but limited its comment to one editorial. The communist paper confined its coverage to brief ATS-AFP dispatches, carried on inside pages, and a front-page editorial on 28 October.

In NZZ of 21 October, "our Washinton correspondent WI" wrote: "On the whole, the impression is of 'a triumphal journey for Johnson' [*italics*] which now brings before the eyes of everyone the super role of the US in the Pacific . . . . We are witnessing an important stage in the growing consciousness of the US world position, which, despite the war against Japan and the Korean war, was hitherto mainly to be observed only for the Atlantic role of the mighty continent. . . .

"By this peace mission," WI concluded, "Johnson has pulled the rug from under the feet of all his critics."

A Manila correspondent, on 23 October, while canvassing "preliminary soundings" and theories of the various member missions relative to the manner of finding a "common denominator" for a political solution to the Vietnam problem, echoed WI's comment on the expanded role of the US in the Pacific area and concluded: "We face - so, at least, many observers believe - the birth of a Pacific alliance that will entail a far-reaching displacement of the political center of gravity."

On 26 October, "fst.," discussing "The Vietnam Conference in Manila" in a report from that city, said that apparently South Korean President Park's "lone" advocacy of further escalation in Vietnam in the preconference thought exchange had been "passed over without comment by other speakers. It may be assumed that his rather sharp tone does not fit in with the moderate temper of the delegates and the conciliatory climate of the Conference, even though Park is not alone in his attitude."

On the same day, WI wrote: "If Eisenhower had undertaken this trip, Dean Acheson would surely have spoken of 'locomotion as a substitute for a foreign policy.' No one dares say that of Johnson is public. His triumphal sweep through Oceania . . . is pseudo foreign policy, but is accepted by the American public as proof of the correctness of his course." Describing "visiting diplomacy" as "foreign policy" leaves out the question of substance, WI said; and added, "that question will be answered, at least in part, in Manila - at any rate, not before the TV sets or the press people,

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at Manila which will slow negotiations.

The San Salvador pro-US government daily Tribuna Libre carried only a few IPM releases. Instead of following President Johnson's trip from country to country, it carried four major editorials and columns in the period 25 October - 4 November. The first, on 26 October, was very critical of both the Manila Conference and of US involvement in Vietnam. It commented: "Peace could not result from this conference, as there was no serious discussion of peace. The bombing of North Vietnam should have been stopped as proof of sincerity." The author charged that there is no policy on the Vietnamese war, but that it grows out of responses to day-to-day situations. The only hope he saw in the conference was that "perhaps the allies might realize the errors they commit which impede the possibility of peace."

Enrique Maza on 28 October wrote a rather sarcastic column in Tribuna Libre calling both sides guilty in Vietnam. His theme was that peace is more than a matter of formulas, it is a "respectful love for others." He points out the many interventions in Vietnam during the past 100 years and observed that Ho Chi Minh receives help from the USSR and China as Saigon does from the US. He discussed the Communist strategy of dividing the country, establishing a Communist government in one half, then claiming that this government is representative of the whole. He felt that Ho Chi Minh has less claim to represent the true interests of the Vietnamese people than does the government in Saigon.

A 1 November Tribuna Libre column by Gilberto Keith (also appearing in the Mexico City daily Excelsior) is extremely critical of the US and of the Manila Conference, saying that peace was never really discussed at the conference: "The conditions and principles of peace were from the start unacceptable to Hanoi and most of the discussion and resolutions centered more on fighting the war, Red Cross exchanges of prisoners, meetings of Foreign Ministers when necessary, etc. The war is good for American business, thus the US called a meeting of its 'clients'." There were no delusions at Manila because no one expected anything to come of it, not even the US."

A 4 November editorial in Tribuna Libre discussed the free Asian countries' dependence on US power for their protection from Communism. "The war has not been a failure," said the author; "it has impeded Communist progress, most visibly in Malaysia and in Indonesia." Japan's position is discussed, with the conclusion that despite the traditional enmity between Japan and the USSR and China, it is to Japan's advantage to remain neutral because of its dependence on commerce for survival. The editorial concluded: "President Johnson returns to the White House with solid support in Asia; he can say to Hanoi that the Communists can never win and offer coexistence instead of enmity."

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are visible.... The US and its satellites want to continue the criminal war of aggression against the Vietnamese people with more troops and material. According to the motto 'If you will not be my brother, I will beat your brains out,' they are demanding from the South Vietnamese liberation movement and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditional capitulation prior to negotiations.... The whole fog of peace phrases sounded off in Manila is revealed (and in this we agree with Frankfurter Rundschau) as an obvious 'election maneuver of the US President,' whose naked war policy is not approved by his own people."

Similar sentiments were expressed in the provincial press at the time of the Conference. The 28 October issue of the Rostock Ostsee-Zeitung said, for instance: "In all seriousness the conference participants demanded, among other things, in their communique that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam disgracefully betray the Vietnamese population which is fighting for its freedom. As a 'counter-offer' they said they would withdraw their aggression troops under all kinds of preconditions and reservations. The way the men around Johnson at Manila are making official declarations under headlines like 'goals of peace' and 'principles for peace and progress in Asia and the Pacific area' -- is pure mockery."

#### Hungary

Colonel Pal Magyari, military columnist for the Budapest illustrated weekly publication of the Hungarian Home Defense Sport Federation, Lobogo, commented in the 19 October issue on both the Brighton and the Manila conferences. The author stated that the Manila Conference was born from a desire to escalate the war and "will lay foundations for a bloc to replace the dying SEATO." He concluded: "Just as the English regime at Brighton, so the imperialists of the United States at Manila did not and will not find a way out of the dead end."

L. Istvan Szabo, writing in the 1 November issue of the Budapest party daily Nepszabadsag, observed that the Asian trip involved more than it seemed at first. It was, he said, a first step in building up a more attractive idea to support the Vietnam war, an "Asian doctrine" justifying the US presence in the Far East. This "adventurous" policy, he concluded, could have far-reaching consequences if it does not meet "determined international resistance."

Washington correspondent Istvan Arkus, writing in the 3 November issue of Nepszabadsag, stated that "Vietnamese escalation ruled the Manila conference." The writer said that President Johnson's trip emphasized an increase in the war effort and evoked demonstrations showing that there is increasing dissatisfaction with the war in the countries visited and, "probably, will not have the desired effect on US elections."

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The paper's attitude toward the Conference might have been embodied in the headline "Does Manila Have an Essential Meaning?" which appeared in its 23 October issue. It wondered whether Manila was a "council of war, an effort for a peaceful solution, or a preelectoral operation by Johnson," and then commented that "no concrete results are expected." Accompanying this report was a Papas cartoon from the Guardian entitled "No 1 Salesman," picturing the President during the New Zealand welcome. The report prior to the Vietnam visit declared that only the President expected any results because he "believes that his spectacular move, if he actually visits US troops in Vietnam, will strengthen his weakened popularity at home and help his party in the coming elections." The paper ended its coverage of the trip by reporting the North Korean cease-fire violation on 2 November, stating that "Washington Expresses Intense Uneasiness by Incident Not Thought to be Connected with Johnson Visit."

In contrast to Eleftheria and I Kathimerini, pro-Papandreou To Vima had no commentary, made passing references to the demonstrations, and in general, gave little coverage on the trip. What coverage it had was comprised of short factual news reports from Bangkok (including one that the President was "exhausted") Kuala Lumpur, Seoul and Washington.

I Avgi seemed to take particular delight in the demonstrations which took place during the tour. The Communist-oriented daily referred to "tens of thousands of demonstrators along the way," "rain of rotten eggs and tomatoes on Johnson," "street fights between demonstrators, army and police," and "Helicopter flew over well-guarded" Presidential car "to save him if necessary during trip from Sydney airport." The paper devoted considerable space to reporting every possible unfavorable and unpleasant detail it could dredge up, seeming to delight in the various incidents.

On 24 October, the paper declared that the President had been welcomed in Manila with the slogan "Hangman of Asia, Go Home!" and gave the usual Communist view of the conference proceedings. The paper's reaction to the Manila Conference communique was expressed on 26 October when it denounced it as "hypocritical," as containing nothing new, and as being a "repetition of frequent former statements of the US leaders."

In the paper's opinion, the President's trip to Vietnam was intended to "strengthen American morale." It pointed out on 27 October that Cam Ranh was the base for the "barbaric bombings of South Vietnamese patriots," and liberally quoted the North Vietnamese Liberation Front charges that US forces were capturing "individuals to use their blood to give transfusions to US casualties."

On 30 October, the paper carried a photograph of the Nan Danh "editor" in Berlin and claimed that "US propaganda" was "silent about

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The 22 October issue of Libertad called the Manila Conference the precursor to a new escalation in Vietnam. The 29 October issue detailed the demonstrations against President Johnson and stressed the need for security wherever he traveled. This issue included an article on the Indian "summit" conference at the same time and carried a cartoon of President Johnson in a cowboy outfit riding a bomb with the caption: "'Peace' Tour of Johnson." An editorial by A.B.C. in the 5 November issue emphasized the probability of the Manila Conference serving as the beginning of an escalation which could lead to "drastic US measures to compensate for the damage done to its pride in its losses in Vietnam." It charged that the Manila Conference was called so the US could ask for more troops from the other countries. Another article on the same page presented the view that the US has broken all treaties and international law in Vietnam... "It has gone against the Geneva Accords, the United Nations Charter, and other treaties and agreements."

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North Vietnam

During the period 11 October-7 November, the North Vietnam press vehemently denounced the President's Asian trip and the Manila Conference. After the Manila Communique was released, Nhan Dan, the daily organ of the Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi, seized on the opportunity to again categorically reject the call for peace negotiations.

In its 19 October issue, the Nhan Dan editorial listed the objectives of President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference as follows: "(1) To press the Asian satellites of the US to contribute more men and money to the US war in Vietnam; (2) to bolster the puppet regimes in the countries visited; and (3) to use the trip for the benefit of the Democratic Party in the forthcoming elections. In short, Johnson wants to kill many birds with one stone: cover up the aggressive features of US imperialism in Asia, lessen the isolation of the US in the world, peddle his peace hoax again, and seek a way out of the stalemate in South Vietnam."

In the 21 October issue, Nhan Dan carried the statement made on 16 October by a spokesman of the Foreign Relations Board of the NLFV (National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam), denouncing the Manila Conference as "part of the US scheme to escalate the war while clamoring for peace." The statement characterized it as "an opportunity for the US imperialists to get their henchmen and satellites to join in prattling about peace so as to extricate the Johnson clique from their stalemate, help them win more votes in the November elections, and deceive American public opinion. The Manila Conference will help the US satellites bargain for higher profits in exchange for the cannon fodder they supply to the US aggression in Vietnam."

In the 23 and 24 October issues, Nhan Dan quoted the 23 October statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which called the Manila Conference "in essence, a war conference between the US and its lackeys." According to the statement, "the US imperialists are trying to use the conference to whitewash the dirty picture of the exclusively American war. However, the conference between the US and its flunkys cannot cover up the aggressive nature of the US imperialists, but will only further expose the sinister American scheme to use Asians to fight Asians. In Manila, Johnson will press his satellites to contribute more men and money for intensifying the war in Vietnam and for rigging up a new aggressive military alliance between the US and its henchmen to replace the disintegrating SEATO bloc. The US and its henchmen prattle about economic and social development and war against poverty, disease, and ignorance. This is simply a version of the carrot-and-stick. That carrot cannot whitewash the crimes perpetrated by the US imperialists against the Vietnamese people and other peoples of Asia and the world."

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In his skillful ... alternating of firmness in the war and flexibility in the offering of negotiations, and most especially in the popularity which his enthusiastic reception in Australia and South Korea revealed, Johnson has impressed on the mind of his compatriots the idea that the war in Vietnam is not the President's war nor even exclusively that of the US."

Monarchist ABC provided factual news service coverage in its 25-30 October and 1-4 November issues and almost daily commentary. The 25 October issue carried a commentary by Jose Maria Massip, ABC's Washington correspondent, stating that "At present the only clear thing which has resulted from the famous Manila Conference is General Westmoreland's statement 'more war and more troops in Vietnam.'" In the 26 October issue, Massip commented: "What is important is the offer of an amnesty and withdrawal within a specific period of time. Here undoubtedly is a possibility of a point of departure, a first step toward negotiation." Although in the 26 October issue, Massip mentioned "the serious problems which were not resolved in Manila" and said that "within the context of these movements of L.B.J. over the map of Southeast Asia, the main question remains peace or war and as a result the real meaning of the Manila statement." He described Soviet press reaction to the Manila proposal as "obviously exaggerated and partisan" and added that it "will contribute little to the Hanoi regime's reflection about what it is being offered in Manila, which is important, specific, and positive." In the 28 October issue, Massip asserted that although "the documents signed in Manila ... offer conditions theoretically viable for negotiation ... it does not seem that Johnson's words to the troops in Cam Ranh nor the subsequent statements of the Saigon leaders were intended to bring the enemy to the conference table." In the 2 November issue, Massip stressed "the very strong impact of the President's tour on the nations visited." He pointed out that: "Aside from the 'Manila Manifesto,' in almost all cases L.B.J. has promised to increase US economic and military aid to the nations visited. For the leaders of those countries, that counts," and added that "it is obvious that J.B.J.'s trip has put into operation a coordinated, regional, anti-Communist policy between the governments of Southeast Asia, Canberra, Wellington, and the US."

Catholic Ya provided factual news service coverage on 25 October, 28-30 October, and 1-3 November and a total of four commentaries in the issues reviewed, ceasing coverage on 4 November. In the 25 October issue, Gustavo Valverde, Ya's New York correspondent, wrote: "We must stress once more that the Manila Conference is not and cannot be a peace conference: the Communist 'other side' is not represented in it. It seems to be more of a forum in which the seven nations are trying to demonstrate mutually their firmness in the war ... or their determination to seek an honorable solution to the conflict." The 26 October

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but in camera. For the differences among the Vietnam allies are not small. It could almost be said that Johnson with his Vietnam policy stands alone in this assembly. It will require skill to find a common denominator. That does not mean that the US will not succeed . . . . We might discern in Johnson's pacifist undertaking the architecture of a long-range Asian policy . . . . the President's journey is carried out in an ambiance of rising expectations, which he himself continues to restrain in his speeches. . . . The US has been a pacifist power for a hundred years, and this role must be taken seriously. The question is whether the President's tour of visits has shown it in its true light. The future will tell."

On 28 October, an unattributed Manila item called the President's visit to South Vietnam a "dramatic excursion of international importance - actually expected by everyone," and, somewhat sarcastically, a "show program" for US voters, which, with "relatively limited risk," not only reduced criticism in the US, but impressed partners from Asia and Manila with his earnestness.

"fst." commented from Manila on 30 October: "The conclusion of Communist propaganda that further escalation in Vietnam is to be decided in Manila is not admissible. . . . The war for the protection of South Vietnam is being waged by an alliance [*italics*] committed to joint consultation. . . . Neither the US 'Military Assistance Command' in Saigon nor the Pentagon alone decides on expansion or reduction of its engagement."

The Journal de Geneve editorial of 28 October called the Manila Conference communique "a compromise between the intransigents and the moderates . . . . From the psychological point of view, it is important for President Johnson to show that the US is not alone in the Asian struggle. . . . If the Philippine conference has shown the US disposed to facilitate development of the Asian countries that have remained free, it has unfortunately not brought a solution to the Vietnam conflict. . . . Nevertheless, it is important to remember that, for the first time, the Americans have set a date for the withdrawal of their troops."

News items carried by La Voix Ouvriere stressed anti-US demonstrations, and references were made to "violent demonstrations" and to the "poor attendance at the reception for the President," in the lengthy caption to a photograph on the last page of the 24 October issue.

In a front-page editorial appearing in the 28 October issue, Robert Tuscher wrote: "Those who, deceived by US propaganda and Johnson's pacifist verbiage, were hoping that the Manila Conference would offer even minute prospects for negotiations with Vietnam will have been enlightened by a reading of the documents adopted by the Manila Conference, which call for unconditional capitulation of the adversary." The writer called the positions adopted at

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which said: "Yankee imperialism continues the war of aggression in Vietnam, but in Manila President Johnson has said that Yankee troops in Vietnam will help in their program of pacification and reconstruction! For real pacification, they should leave Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can reconstruct in peace and freedom. President Johnson's cynicism overrides his saying that the Manila Conference is for a 'peace offensive' when the truth is that they seek escalation, using their few accomplices who do not take seriously the total isolation of the U.S. in this war against liberation of the Vietnamese people." Tass, Prensa Latina, and AFP articles stressing anti-U.S. sentiment continued in this daily through 1 November, when the subject was dropped entirely.

The Socialist Party weekly El Sol (of 4 November) and the leftist intellectual weekly Marcha (of 28 October and 4 November) continued to ignore the trip. Extreme leftist daily Epoca continued its previous practice of covering the trip with critical headlines over Prensa Latina and AFP reports on the subject in all issues from 27 October through 3 November, after which no other reports or comments were made.

The non-Communist Montevideo daily press reviewed for the period 27 October-10 November gave rather uniform treatment to the trip and conference generally dropping the subject around 4 November: Independent Colorado La Manana carried basically AP stories in its 27, 30, and 31 October and 1-5 November issues. Conservative UBD Blanco El Pais relied on ANSA, AP, and EFE for stories appearing in its 29-31 October and 1-5 November issues; El Plata, of the same orientation, provided much the same coverage, with articles appearing on 27, 28, and 31 October and 1 and 6 November. List 99 Colorado Hechos carried AFP and ANSA reports on 28 and 31 October and on 3 and 4 November; no other issues mentioned the subject. List 14 Colorado El Dia carried reports from 27 through 31 October, then again on 1, 3, and 5 November. Independent Colorado El Diario carried AP articles on 28 and 31 October, and another short item on 4 November. Blanco Party El Debate carried AFP and Reuters dispatches in all issues from 27 October through 5 November. Catholic B.P. Color carried AFP, UPI, and Reuters dispatches every day beginning 27 October through 5 November.

### Venezuela

Leading Caracas dailies were scanned for editorial comment on President Johnson's trip from 14 October through 10 November. Four of these seven dailies carried one or more generally favorable editorials, and gave continuous wire service coverage of the President's trip, primarily on the editorial page, with photographs, through 2 November. The unofficial Communist weekly ignored the trip, with the exception of a very brief description of anti-Johnson manifestations in the Philippines and an unflattering cartoon. The 3-10 November papers were scanned for editorial coverage only.

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liberation movement in Asia and to attack China," and concluded that "the peoples of all Asia and of the whole world will ultimately send nefarious US imperialism to the gallows." Backing up the Observer article was an editorial reprinted from the 3 November issue of Hanoi's Nhan Dan and press comments from Laos, New Zealand, Pakistan, Tanzania, and elsewhere. The President's 4 November press conference was covered, more or less factually, in a separate story.

Mongolia

Mongolian press coverage of President Johnson's trip and of the Manila Conference increased during the period 21 October - 5 November but was still relatively light. Only five largely factual items appeared in Unen, organ of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, between 22 October and 3 November reporting progress of the trip. These highlighted the unfriendly demonstrations which occurred in Australia and New Zealand. On 30 October, Unen quoted a Pravda (Moscow) article stating that whereas President Johnson had claimed that US policy was to "defend the legal government and the Vietnamese people from aggression," the President's visit to Cam Ranh Bay "demonstrated his fear of the ability of the people to defend themselves." The President's visit to Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and Seoul were ignored.

The attitudes of the Mongolian government on the Manila Conference was foreshadowed by an article entitled "Conspiracy in Manila" which appeared in Unen on 24 October and was signed by commentator B. Demchigdorj. Charging that the conference was a "conspiracy entered into by the United States with its Asian 'accomplices' to escalate the war in Vietnam," Demchigdorj claimed that "today there are no people in the world who are not aware of or do not understand the dirty and treacherous policy of militant Mr. Johnson who is escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam and attempting to camouflage it with vain phrases containing the word 'peace.'" The author attributed the public demonstrations in Manila to the world's "clear understanding of the nature of the war in Vietnam -- a war in which the American aggressors have been using weapons of mass destruction, such as napalm and phosphorous bombs." He claimed that the presence of permanent US military bases in the Far East belies the President's statement in Honolulu on 17 October that "We must pay attention to the desires of the Asian people. The fate of the people of Asia is entirely in their own hands." Demchigdorj concluded by stating that the "Manila Conspiracy" is creating a threat to peace and security, not only in Asia, but throughout the world...." He declared: "The Mongolian people strongly condemn the conspiracy and are confident the conference will fail."

The official position of the Mongolian Government was made clear in a statement issued on 29 October by a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The full text, which appeared in Unen on 30 October, follows:

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"The wording of the joint communique and of American and South Vietnamese reactions shows that the US commitment to withdraw exists for the present only on condition that the Communists to all practical intents give up the idea of carrying on with the fight; and that is not to be expected, unless they are convinced that they are in the final stages of defeat. As a result, the South Vietnamese, the Americans and their allies can continue to crush the Vietcong forces until they are no longer dangerous to the Saigon regime."

The weekly organ of the "Rakah Communist Faction," Zo Haderekh, on 26 October for the first time since 1 October made reference to President Johnson's trip. It quoted a report by the Australian weekly Tribune under the headline, "Manila Conference for the Intensification of the War in Vietnam."

The Communist weekly Frei Yisroel mentioned the President's trip for the first time in a feature article by N. Parizer entitled "The Peace Mission of the American President." The article referred to comments in other papers, such as Hatsofeh and Ma'ariv. Hatsofeh stated, among other things, that "it is clear that not because of 'peaceful intentions' did President Johnson leave...only several weeks before the elections...but to intensify the aggressive war in Vietnam.... The last Gallup poll indicated that 48 percent of Americans are in favor of his policy while 52 percent are against it." After giving "facts" on US military strength and military expenditures in Vietnam, it quoted Ma'ariv as saying that the French Foreign Minister Abba Eban, had pointed out that developments in Vietnam are influencing developments in the Middle East. Frei Yisroel closed this article by saying: "Therefore, the Israelis, who are very much interested in peace along our borders, must intensify their struggle against the policy of the Eshkol-Sapir Government, which supports the US and wants to establish diplomatic relations with South Vietnam."

#### Jordan

The progovernment daily newspaper al-Jihad, reviewed for the period 22 October - 1 November, carried only factual AP and Reuters reports on both the President's trip and the Manila Conference.

#### Lebanon

Reviewed for the period 25 October - 7 November were the independent daily L'Orient, the pro-West dailies al-Hayah and al-Jaridah, the Ba'thist weekly al-Ahrar, the Communist daily al-Nida, and the Communist weeklies al-Akhbar and Ila al-Amam. L'Orient and al-Hayah reported factually on the President's trip, al-Jaridah also carried factual reports and printed a New York Times editorial by Charles Moore headed "The Manila Conference, an Important Symbol," and al-Ahrar and Ila al-Amam completely ignored the subject. In addition to "factual" reporting based exclusively on Communist

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## MIDDLE EAST

The available Middle Eastern press for the general period 22 October-7 November contained considerable factual reporting and editorial commentaries on both the President's Asian trip and the Manila Conference. The treatment accorded both events depended on the country and/or the orientation of each publication. In summary, coverage may be described as falling under three major categories: hostile, friendly, and noncommittal. In the first category were not only the area's Communist papers, but the equally if not ever more hostile and vitriolic mouthpieces of the ruling Ba'thist regime in Damascus and the still critical and unfriendly but less venomous pro-Nasir press in the UAR and elsewhere in the Arab World. The only difference here is that, while the Communist and Ba'thist press relied heavily on Soviet and other Communist news media and editorial approach, the Pro-Nasir press attempted to be more "objective" by carrying Western news agencies' dispatches which, after some doctoring up and twisting and distorting, read almost the same as the Communist and Ba'thist papers. In the second category were a few pro-Western papers in Greece, Turkey, and Israel. These carried straightforward factual news from Western news media, and their editorial commentaries were either favorable or at least objective. In the third category were those pro-Western papers, like those in Beirut, which, for reasons of their own, carried straightforward and undistorted news reports from Western news media, but failed to publish any editorial comments.

Arabian Peninsula

The last issue received of the Saudi government-controlled daily newspaper al-Bilad was that of 23 October, which contained only a brief factual news item on the President's trip. The Yemeni government-controlled daily newspapers al-Akhbar and al-Thawrah, reviewed for the period 22 October - 4 November, made no mention of either the President's trip or the Manila Conference.

Cyprus

Scanned for the period 22-26 October were the Nicosia Greek-language daily newspapers Eleftheria (nationalist), I Makhi (nationalist) and Kharavgi (Communist), and the Turkish-language daily Halkin Sesi (nationalist). Of the two Greek-language nationalist papers, I Makhi took note of the President's trip for the first time on 24 October, when the paper carried a front page photograph of the President and Mrs. Johnson leaving their plane on arrival at Manila. Accompanying the photograph was a Reuters factual report from London. I Makhi concentrated on coverage of local events, the continuously burning Cyprus question, and the trip of President Makarios to Latin America.

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Also in the 26 October issue was a long article reporting the remarks made by Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman in Parliament. According to the article, the Prime Minister called on everyone to give a good welcome to President Johnson and told party leaders that it was their responsibility to prevent incidents capable of blackening Malaysia's name. He said that demonstrations would not be permitted as they could get out of hand, and he strongly criticized a member of parliament who questioned the purpose of the President's visit.

On 27 October the paper carried an article reporting the President's surprise visit to South Vietnam. Another article reported that Britain and Japan had welcomed the results of the Manila Conference and that France had not yet issued an official statement on the conference.

On 28 October the lead article on the front page of the paper outlined the agenda for the President's visit in Kuala Lumpur. Another article reported that the President was resting at an airbase in Thailand prior to visiting Bangkok. The paper also published a long, illustrated article on the activities and travels of Mrs Johnson. In an editorial the paper said: The documents from the Manila Conference show that the participating nations do not intend to expand the Vietnam war but want to find a way to end the war. While nothing extraordinary came out of the conference, the offer to withdraw troops from South Vietnam might produce a clearer attitude on Hanoi's part and encourage it to give further consideration to the offer."

On 29 October the lead article on the front page of the paper reported on the preparations being made for the visit of the President. Another long article reported on the welcome given to the President in Bangkok. Another article announced that two pamphlets attacking the President had been banned from circulation. The pamphlets, written in Chinese, were issued by the Labor Party of Malaysia and the People's Party of Selangor. The paper also published a map showing the route that would be followed by the President on his arrival in Kuala Lumpur, and carried a long, biographical article on the President and an editorial welcoming his visit.

On 30 October the paper reported that the President would arrive in Kuala Lumpur that day and informed the public that free bus service to the airport was available. The paper also published a long editorial welcoming the President and assessing Malaysia's role in Southeast Asia.

The 31 October issue of the paper was dominated by the visit of the President. Almost the entire front page was given over to stories on the arrival of the President and a picture of the President and the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Many related news items, a welcoming editorial, and eight photographs appeared on the inside pages.

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Colombia

The tragic fire in a Colombian town, the visit of Archbishop Markarios, and other issues competed with UPI, AFP, and AP reporting of President Johnson's Asian trip in the Colombian press reviewed for this survey. Editorial comment in the principal Bogota newspapers available for 22 October-12 November (conservative El Siglo was not available) generally viewed the trip in a favorable moderate light, refraining from high praise or strong criticism, specifically of the Manila Conference. A predictably notable exception to moderation, however, was provided by the 3 November issue of pro-Soviet Communist Party weekly Voz Proletaria.

The Communist organ reported that between 25 and 31 October the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia met with a delegation headed by Arnolando Martinez Verdugo from the Mexican Communist Party and a result of this "exchange of opinions and experiences" was a two-page, ten-point joint statement including a reference to the Manila Conference. "In examining the international situation," read the joint statement, "the National Directorate of the PCC and the representatives of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party express concern over the increasing aggressive action of Yankee imperialism against the people of Vietnam and over the agreements reached in Manila by the US government and its puppets.. The increase of Yankee aggression is proof of the desperation of US leaders and of their military and political failure... But the increased aggression establishes new duties for our parties..."

In contrast, the moderately liberal daily El Tiempo, in its 23 October running review of international events, commented that President Johnson's warning "not to expect miracles" [from the Manila Conference], was a demonstration of his "realistic" outlook and approach. A 27 October editorial in the same newspaper said the Manila Conference "left the door open for future negotiations" and that President Johnson left "a solid foundation" and proof of his "good will" to put and end to the war in Vietnam. The editorial also called the President's offer to withdraw US troops in 6 months if the Viet Cong do the same "irrefutable logic." The 30 October news review of El Tiempo pointed out that "at no time was stopping the bombing of North Vietnam, a condition to negotiations set by Hanoi discussed at the conference."

On 30 October, Gustavo Ramirez Escobar wrote in conservative daily La Republica that unanimity at the Manila Conference was "to be expected," that the conclusions of the conference were "minor" ones, and that the only "positive aspect was the proposal for the creation of an organization for regional cooperation." Writing in the 31 October issue of the same newspaper "A propos of President Johnson's Trip to Asia," Jaime Sanchez Farrut praised President Marcos and suggested he might play the role of mediator in Vietnam.

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Central African Republic

The 22-29 October, 29 October-5 November, and 5-12 November issues of Terre Africaine, weekly newspaper published in Bangui by the Ministry of State for Information and Tourism, were reviewed for coverage of the trip. The 22-29 October issue made no mention of the trip, while the 29 October-5 November issue provided one factual report, and one commentary by Guy-Barth Monorry, who asserted that "The results of the Manila Conference will not be miraculous, although... some thawing can be expected; Johnson left with good intentions, i.e., with the intention of adopting methods leading to an honorable peace in South Vietnam." A largely factual AFP report in the 5-12 November issue noted "President Johnson's important diplomatic victory" in Thailand and stated that "the misunderstandings between the two governments have undoubtedly not been dissipated, and Thailand's role in the Vietnamese conflict remains poorly defined. But the summit talks have at least the merit of sanctioning a de facto situation: Thailand is resolved to make all possible military resources available to the US."

Chad

Info Tchad, the Fort-Lamy official bulletin issued by the ATP, which was reviewed for the general period 17 October-4 November 1966, carried purely factual ATP reports on the President's trip and the Manila Conference on an almost daily basis.

Congo (Brazzaville)

Of the three Brazzaville newspapers, La Semaine (Catholic weekly), Dipanda ("weekly of the Congolese Revolution"), and Bulletin Quotidien de l'ACI (official ACI daily bulletin), which were reviewed for the general period 12-28 October, only the latter provided extensive factual coverage of and some commentaries on the President's trip and the Manila Conference. In general, these commentaries stressed the "hostility" encountered by the President during his trip and the "insincerity" of the participants in the Manila Conference.

The 12, 15, and 17 October issues of Bulletin Quotidien de l'ACI made no mention of the topics surveyed, while the 18-20, 22, 24-25, and 28 October issues carried purely factual reports. The 21 October issue provided a commentary stating that "The Manila Conference threatens to produce bitter memories. In fact, at each stop on his unfortunate trip, Johnson, who has taken to the road to direct this macabre caucus, finds himself the object of a growing hostility on the part of the people, even in those countries where he has momentarily placed his puppets at the head of their governments by force."

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the final communique entirely omitted clarification of the role of the FNL and whether it would be recognized as a partner in full standing at the conference table. However, Oste felt that the silence of the Manila Communique on that point was understandable in light of Premier Ky's statement that the "legal government" of South Vietnam absolutely refuses to permit recognition for the FNL. Oste questioned whether the US willingness to withdraw in six months was really a concession and a step toward peace. In light of earlier statements from Hanoi and of the FNL making US evacuation a condition for negotiations, Oste felt that Hanoi would view the US proposal as "glaring propaganda," especially since North Vietnam refuses to admit that it has armed forces in South Vietnam and particularly since "after 20 years of bitter experience and broken promises" it would be difficult to trust a "US offer and accept the neglect of the FNL." However, Oste felt that even more important than the evaluation by Hanoi and the FNL of the "peace offer," was the problem of the definition of the "North Vietnamese forces." He said that the US had been unclear and inconsistent in defining the composition of these forces, and he thought that so long as the US does not clarify its "peace conditions" the Manila Communique will be entirely meaningless. However, Oste saw a clarification coming from General Ky when he stated in his talk at the Manila Conference that there was no distinction whatever among all the various groups of adversaries. The writer concluded that if one should interpret the words "withdraw its forces to the north," in the Communique in the manner of the "Saigon junta," as demanding a total capitulation of Hanoi and the FNL, there "was no reason to regard the offer from Manila as a step toward a settlement."

In an editorial on 26 October, Dagens Nyheter saw the Manila Conference as having provided nothing new in the efforts for peace. The paper felt that what the Conference had demonstrated was President Johnson's position of leadership in the Far East prior to the US Congressional elections and that what had been accomplished was a new emphasis on unity among the countries involved in the war in Vietnam. However, the paper saw this unity as one of "shades," with Thailand and South Korea most enthusiastically representing the hard line, and South Vietnam "evidently persuaded to refrain from at least openly expressing the demand for the invasion of North Vietnam." The paper felt that this was the price which the South Vietnamese "government" must pay for the US "assuming an even greater role in the civil war in Vietnam." The paper evaluated the Communique as being so "non-committal" that there was no reason to think that the situation was ripe for a reconsideration, for example, concerning the bombing of North Vietnam. According to Dagens Nyheter, the Communique contained "only a repetition of the traditional US viewpoints with the designation of North Vietnam as the aggressor." The paper felt that the US had entirely passed over the fact that the "war in Vietnam is really a civil war" and said that the FNL is more representative of the people than the "government in Saigon." According to the paper, the Communique "unfortunately is evidence of the stagnation in American thinking," and the concept that the bombings in North Vietnam would force the adversary to the conference table is "erroneous." In conclusion, the paper said that "the thinkers" in Washington, particularly

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Indonesia

During the period 18-28 October, the Djakarta dailies Angkatan Bersendjata, published by the military, the Duta Masjarakat, organ of the NU (an influential Moslem party), paid scant attention to the trip of President Johnson. The papers gave more attention to the Manila Conference, but much of this coverage centered around the possibility that Indonesia might serve as a middleman in bringing together the opposing sides in Vietnam.

On 19 October, Duta Masjarakat reported that President Marcos had said that the Philippines would not participate in any action which would expand the Vietnam war and that the Manila Conference was not a forum to discuss the formation of a new military alliance. Another article in this daily reported that President Johnson had said on leaving Washington that he would work for an honorable peace in Vietnam. The paper said in an editorial that little could be expected from the Manila Conference in the way of a "complete" settlement in Vietnam. The editorial referred to the Sukarno-Macapagal doctrine and suggested that an Asian approach to the problem would be helpful, "as was proved by the settlement of the Malaysian dispute."

Angkatan Bersendjata reported on 20 October that the nations participating in the Manila Conference would draft a peace formula as a common platform to be used in seeking a peaceful settlement in Vietnam, and also that President Johnson allegedly had asked for Indonesia's good offices in the Vietnam conflict when Foreign Minister Malik was in Washington. An editorial in this issue of the paper said that the participants in the Manila Conference would draft a peace formula which would be submitted to the Hanoi Government by an intermediary. The editorial noted that Indonesia has been suggested for the role of intermediary and that this suggestion has been both opposed and supported. The editorial concluded that if the trust of the world were placed in Indonesia as the intermediary in the Vietnam war then this trust would not be refused, for it was Indonesia's duty to participate in the settlement of world disputes and in the stabilization of Southeast Asia.

On 20 October, Duta Masjarakat reported that US security agents had arrived in Kuala Lumpur "disguised as tourists" and that they were studying the route the President would take from the airport. Another article reported that Foreign Minister Malik would be in the Soviet Union prior to the Manila Conference and that he would discuss Vietnam there. The article said that Philippine President Marcos had asked Indonesia to mediate in the Vietnam war and that President Johnson had asked for Indonesia's good offices in the Vietnam conflict when Malik was in Washington. According to the article, Indonesia might be the third party which could convey the peace formula that

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A review of Le Journal de la Reunion, St Denis independent daily newspaper, for the period between 6 and 25 October, revealed factual news reports only. On 19 October, a front-page headline quoted the President's statement urging the allies of the US to "expect no miracles and have plenty of patience." The 25 October issue carried a large picture of Cao Ky and emphasized that "the war in Vietnam will continue as long as Communist aggression threatens the freedom and independence of the South," an agreement issued as a result of the first day's work at the Manila Conference, according to the paper.

### Senegal

During the general period 26 October-5 November, the Dakar independent daily Dakar-Matin carried APS news items on the President's trip on an almost daily basis. Moreover, two articles can be characterized as being of an interpretive nature.

The 27 October issue carried a factual article which cited the prevailing feeling among most of the Manila participants that the Conference did not really settle any problems. It mentioned that although the President had termed the Conference historic, "it was not constructive." The article stated that, without a change in attitude by Hanoi, the Asian conflict would continue. The article noted that "the Asian 'summit' answered the needs of the internal politics of 'certain Heads of State,' as elections were to be held in the near future in their respective countries."

The 3 November issue carried a factual article which noted that the President's return to the US was only 10 days before the elections. The article stated that although the Manila Conference did not settle the Vietnam conflict, it did "blaze the trail for a new Asian policy of cooperation." It noted that this would probably "persuade the American electorate on election day. Furthermore, thanks to Manila, the way is now open for eventual negotiations on Vietnam."

The article also noted that the President "has returned to the US strong with the support of the Asian nations whose troops are fighting in Vietnam." On foreign policy, the article stated that the President feels that he has gained more support in Asia than he has received from Europe.

The Dakar independent daily Info-Senegal had previously made no mention whatsoever of the President's trip. The available issues for the general period 25 October-4 November did, however, carry many APS items, two of which were of an interpretive nature.

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None of the three other Caracas dailies scanned -- the pro-AD La Tarde, the independent liberal La Esfera, and the leftist liberal El Nacional -- carried any editorial comment, although all gave the trip consistent wire service coverage on the international page.

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President Johnson's visit to Cam Ranh was reported on 27 October in a front-page article signed by Jean Le Lorrain, who explained that the visit was made to Cam Ranh instead of to Saigon or Danang, first because of security reasons, second because a visit to an "offensive base such as Danang might have been interpreted as a signal for another stage of escalation. Le Lorrain noted a Pravda editorial in which M. Lorinóv estimated that 94 percent of the population of Asia was not represented at the Manila Conference, and suggested that the Allies should ponder that fact.

By 28 October, the Manila Conference had receded from the front page. A brief editorial by Louis Terrenoire emphasized the international dangers inherent in the Vietnam situation, particularly if the war should escalate. He opined that France had taken the correct course by keeping from involvement, a course which left her ready to play a beneficial role at the opportune time in the future.

After a brief fourth-page factual article on the President's visit to Kuala-Lumpur on 31 October, La Nation offered on 2 November a first-page unsigned news story covering the Viet Cong bombardment of Saigon, the President's visit to South Korea, and protests lodged by the South Vietnamese Government with the International Control Commission on 24th and 25th October.

Le Populaire de Paris made no mention of either President Johnson's trip or of the Manila Conference until, in the issue of 8/9 November, a brief editorial offered what was apparently the paper's summary of the matter. The writer found it impossible to get any information which would offer a clue to any new thinking by any of the participants in the Vietnam war. "In fact," he said, "it seems that all sides have entered into a period of waiting and diplomatic exploration."

Between 28 October and 4 November, L'Humanite continued to use the Manila Conference and President Johnson's trip as a basis for attacks upon US policy and action in Vietnam. The issue of 28 October used mainly quotations from the North Vietnamese newspaper Nhan Dan. On the 29th, a brief news report described Thailand as an American base and stressed the "rising tide" of dissatisfaction among the population. On 30 October, in a full-page editorial, Yves Moreau undertook to summarize and interpret President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference. Moreau saw both as being designed primarily for propaganda purposes; first, to deceive the American voters with respect to the true situation in Vietnam and second, to justify before the world the continuation of the war. Moreau saw secondary purposes in President Johnson's need to "solidify his grip on the satellite states of Asia and the Pacific" and to "obtain from them a larger contribution in order to intensify the Vietnam war." Predicting that President Johnson plainly intends to pursue and escalate the conflict, Moreau called for a rising tide of world opinion to end "this dangerous aggression."

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reportedly would be drafted at the Manila Conference to the Hanoi Government and to other Communist Bloc nations, but this would depend mainly on the type of welcome Malik received in the Soviet Union.

On 22 October, Duta Masjarakat reported that Huks were infiltrating Manila with the aim of assassinating President Johnson and General Ky.

On 24 October, Duta Masjarakat reported that the government of the Philippines would convey to Indonesia the decisions reached at the Manila Conference. A similar report appeared in the 24 October issue of Angkatan Bersendjata.

On 25 October Duta Masjarakat reported the opening of the Manila Conference and noted that President Marcos had said in his opening speech that the conference was a council of peace and not a council of war. In another brief article the paper reported that the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry had described the meeting as a war conference between the US and its lackeys.

The 25 October issue of Angkatan Bersendjata carried three articles and an editorial connected with the Manila Conference. One article reported that the conference had opened in Manila and reported President Marcos' opening remarks. Another described President Johnson's visit in Australia and said that he was en route to a summit conference on Vietnam in Manila. The third reported that Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik had sent a letter containing best wishes for the success of the Manila Conference to Philippine Foreign Minister Ramos.

The 25 October Angkatan Bersendjata editorial said: "The mass bombing of North Vietnam has not destroyed the North Vietnamese people's spirit and will to resist, but has strengthened them. The mass deployment of US and other foreign troops in South Vietnam has not achieved its intended purpose but has strengthened the spirit of the NLFV. America first sent advisers to Saigon to thwart the implementation of the Geneva Agreement, and it sent in large numbers of troops to win the victory for Saigon, and finally it dragged other countries into a war denounced by all the world." The editorial noted that Senator Fulbright had said that the war had had a destructive effect on the President's Great Society program and that former Vice-President Nixon had said that the President had gone to Manila to bring the allies of the US together and not to seek peace negotiations. The editorial closed by asking whether the conference would be a war summit or a peace summit.

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Many papers on 1 and 2 November front-paged the President's reception in South Korea; and the Kuala Lumpur correspondent of the Sueddeutsche Zeitung described his arrival there as the biggest reception ever seen in the Malaysian capital. He discussed the differences in atmosphere prevailing in the countries visited and said the President's "greatest blunder" was his short stop in South Vietnam, where "no ordinary Vietnamese was allowed to stay at the American base during his visit." In regard to the Allied offer to withdraw troops within six months, it said this was too restricted by pre-conditions and advance concessions to be made by North Vietnam; furthermore, the crucial problem of establishing a new social order in South Vietnam had not been adequately dealt with at Manila.

On 3 November, Die Welt said "Johnson's prestige has grown again" as a result of his trip, which was described as a success despite sporadic demonstrations in several Asian cities. "The President succeeded in eliminating some prejudice...and in establishing a foundation of solidarity that may prove to be a check against Communist expansion some day. This has made a deeper impression on American voters than could have been achieved by the usual campaign tour through the US. Instead of dealing with the symptoms of his temporary decline in popularity, the President successfully attacked the cause of this decline which lies in Vietnam....Even more than for the President himself, his Far East trip was a triumph for Dean Rusk and his concept."

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France

During the period of this survey, each of the six French papers reviewed established an attitude toward President Johnson and the Conference quite distinct from that of the others. These attitudes may be epitomized as follows: independent Le Monde - antagonistic, pessimistic, somewhat bitter; independent Le Figaro - mildly sympathetic toward the US, generally pessimistic, but seeing an occasional ray of hope; moderate rightist opposition L'Aurore - strongly anti-Communist, definitely sympathetic toward the US, hopeful that peace can be achieved without a concession to Communism; Socialist Le Populaire de Paris - disinterested; Gaullist La Nation - conciliatory toward the US, slightly hopeful, convinced of De Gaulle's superior wisdom; Communist L'Humanite - bitter toward the US leadership, disdainful of the "hypocritical Manila war council of the American puppets."

None of these attitudes changed substantially in the period of the reviews, which included papers issued principally from 26 October to 5 November.

Le Monde, having reported the President's visit to Cam Ranh in its issue of 27 October with emphasis on a detailed description of the base, on 28 October gave further details as released by AFP. Here Le Monde emphasized the hard-line statements of President Johnson ("We shall prove to the aggressor that aggression does not pay."), and of Generals Ky and Thieu.

Directly adjacent to this article, Le Monde chose to quote briefly from Izvestiya concerning "smoke-screen", "bad image of the war," "aggressors," "maneuver to use Asians to fight Asians," and so on.

On 29 October, the negative response of Hanoi and Peking to the Manila Conference was given briefly. Mention was made also of the Philippine message expressing the hope for peace which was addressed to Mr. Thant, to the Pope, to Indonesia, India, Pakistan, and others. Mr. Averill Harriman's projected visits to Djakarta, Colombo, New Delhi, Rawalpindi, Paris, Bonn, and London also were cited.

For its issue of 30/31 October, Le Monde had three stories on Vietnam. One was a section of General De Gaulle's press conference, which was quoted verbatim. The second was an article by Jean Wetz, special correspondent, who reported on the President's visit in Bangkok, with emphasis on the ceremonies at Chulalongkorn University. The third was an AFP dispatch reporting increased US military aid to Thailand in 1967.

Reporting at some length on the President's visit to Kuala-Lumpur in the issue of 1 November, Jean Wetz criticized President Johnson's statement on the Chicom rocket with nuclear warhead, spoke of "the traditional Anglo-American rivalry and the ambivalence of relations

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"Peace or No Peace" in the 26 October issue said that while the Manila Conference will apparently have no immediate effect on the fighting, it did express the solidarity of the seven participating countries and that "another NATO was born" in Manila. Mention was made of the broad scope of the Manila discussions, discussions which looked beyond the war to the future development of Asia. The anti-US demonstrations along the President's route were referred to as manifestation of "the fifth column operating in every country." The editorial regarded the US presence in this part of Asia as indispensable as long as there is a threat of "submersion by Communist power." Mention was also made, however, of the concern of those Europeans who regard the US as their greatest ally about the military involvement of the US in Asia, and the editorial stated that the US could assume the responsibilities it did in Asia only because of assurance of a stabilized situation in Europe. "If the balance of power in Europe should be weakened; however, the editorial, asked in conclusion, is 'What good would the solidarity encountered by Johnson at Manila be?'"

The Rome Il Popolo, daily organ of the Christian Democratic Party, was generally sympathetic to the US in the fairly detailed coverage of the President's trip published from 25 October through 3 November. Treatment was largely factual, both from Washington correspondent Marcello Spaccarelli and from press services in the various capitals which the President visited. An interpretive article in the 3 November issue he added, "Beyond the Vietnam War," was particularly pro-US. After pointing out that the anti-US demonstrations here and there were offset by the fact that "vast multitudes" welcome President Johnson with "unusual warmth", the article affirmed that the results of the President's trip were of great importance politically for various reasons, not the least of which was the fact that the conference brought together seven states to voice a common sentiment on such a controversial subject as Vietnam. President Johnson was credited with "not letting the conference close on an escalation of the war effort." He was depicted as considering the war a "regrettable episode" and as looking beyond the war to the eventual development of Asia. The article said that "a moderate attitude was expressed at the Manila Conference, in the ample context of hoped-for regional cooperation in the struggle against hunger, ignorance, and disease," an ambiance which "places the Asian problem in completely new dimensions." After declaring that Hanoi's repeated rejection of every American offer as a "snare" is beginning "to sound false and incomprehensible, even to those who had manifested respect for the struggle of the North Vietnamese," the article concluded by asserting that various possible solutions to the conflict in Vietnam are now offered, and that "the Johnson trip represents the political-geographic testimony of an effort which has been gaining ever-increasing credibility with the passing months."

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The Amsterdam De Waarheid, organ of the Dutch Communist Party, was of course consistently critical of the President's trip and everything connected with it, including the Manila Conference. The issues 25 October through 8 November were scanned. De Waarheid made every effort to denigrate the President and the US, by both slanted reporting of facts and the selection of entirely negative comments from various Western press sources. Furthermore, an editorial-style article by "J.W." in the 2 November issue under the heading, "Johnson's Asian Tour," charged, among other things, that "the Americans used the Manila Conference to give a semblance of justice to their operations against the Vietnamese people." This article referred to the six Asian participants in the Manila Conference as "corrupt regimes, which live on dollars." The coordinating committee set up at the conclusion of the Manila Conference was referred to as a facet of "the neocolonial offensive of the imperialists." The article spoke of the unreliability of the "hireling army" of South Vietnam and also stated that "American casualties indicate that the American [military] apparatus is not qualified to fight a ground war in the tropical jungle." The US was charged with "trying to get Asians to contribute more troops to the war in Vietnam," something which "obviously has little to do with peace." Finally, the article charged that Japanese as well as American imperialists are very active in Southeast Asia and it referred to Japanese infiltration into South Korea.

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Norway

The survey of five Norwegian newspapers for coverage of President Johnson's journey and the Manila Conference was continued through 5 November for Independent Verdens Gang and the Socialist People's Party weekly Orientering; through 6 November for Conservative Aftenposten; through 7 November for Labor's Arbeiderbladet; and through 12 November for Communist Friheten. During this period, all papers provided fairly extensive news coverage in international wire service reports, Friheten selecting the more negative and pessimistic of these. The only significant commentary, in the form of editorials or correspondents' and readers' comments, appeared in the non-Communist press.

Aftenposten's coverage included James Reston's article, "Lack of Logic in Manila," two editorials, and an exchange between a radio commentator and two readers. In his article titled "An Ambiguous Timetable," in the 27 October issue, "H" reviewed world opinion on the Manila Conference, ranging from acceptance to rejection. Relative to the communique's promise of troop withdrawal when "the other side" pulls out its forces and stops infiltration, "H" asked: "Who is 'the other side'? The North Vietnam Government alone or North Vietnam plus the NLF? . . . "At any rate," he said, "the Conference has confirmed that the US and its allies will continue the war and their offer to negotiate without conditions until the North Vietnamese have had enough or moderate their conditions," which "H" considered unacceptable." As things stand, "neither the Hanoi nor the Moscow commentaries on the Manila Conference suggest a speedy softening of 'the other side'," he concluded.

In a 4 November article, "H" repeated President Johnson's predeparture remark about not expecting any miracles; as a post-trip observation, "H" said there obviously was none. He judged the result to be a closer "knitting" of New Zealand, Australia, and Malaysia to the US. He felt it showed, "in a highly dramatic way, how the US has gradually taken upon itself the role of non-Communist Asia's guarantor against aggression and Chinese atomic blackmail - and of an all-Asian helper in the battle against hunger, illiteracy, and disease. . . ." He added, ". . . the US is and will remain a dominant power in Asia." He claimed that the results of the Conference would have been much more significant if the larger Asian countries had participated, pointing out that "the American front" encompassed less than 10 percent of Asia's population. "This," "H" stated, "is probably the greatest weakness of the US-Asian policy . . ."

On 26 October, Aftenposten published a letter from Fridtjof Frank Gundersen under the headline, "Questionable Motives," in which the writer not only sharply and sarcastically criticized Norwegian journalist Harald Munthe Kaas' analytical report on the Manila Conference presented in a radio broadcast on 24 October, but also questioned his motives and conclusions. Gundersen accused Kaas of having stated that the Conference was economic in

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denies that the Asian trip had any relationship to the elections, President Johnson will have ended his pre-electoral tour in Southeast Asia well. It is estimated that more than a million persons cheered him in Seoul, the last stop of his voyage. The President (who, it is known, adopted the Gaullist style) had to stop on five occasions to shake hands and distribute autographs (which this time fell under the heading of Hollywood customs). The article further noted, however, that "if the prestige of President Johnson was able to gather some measure of esteem from his Asian allies and helpers, it seems, according to a survey published in Newsweek, that this prestige did not increase in certain European countries -- including Belgium -- where he is reproached for not particularly being a 'man of peace'." The second of these two articles cited the President's satisfaction with the trip, commented that he remarked "in all modesty" that 5 million persons greeted him on his passage, and concluded with the writer's observation that the main points of the Manila Conference could be summarized in three words: "we are continuing."

Extensive daily coverage of the trip appeared from 25 October through 7 November in Catholic La Libre Belgique. (This newspaper, reviewed through 12 November, had no further coverage on the trip after 7 November). Out of the plethora of items thus printed, however, all but six were strictly factual and one of these six, appearing on 1 November, commented only to the extent of stating that the President would return to Washington, "where the worries of the 8 November legislative elections await him -- elections which Vice President Humphrey characterized as having nothing to do with the Presidential voyage, but which nonetheless constitute an important test of American opinion for the head of the White House." On 25 October, there was somewhat more commentary, the writer of one item stating that at the end of the first day of the Manila Conference, "one could not see the tip of the ear of that rabbit which President Johnson himself said should not be expected to be seen come out of the magician's hat. Yet some persons hope, in spite of all, to catch a glimpse of this rabbit. If one lost hope of seeing an announcement of an unconditional suspension of American bombings of North Vietnam, rumors -- difficult to verify -- are circulating which mention a plan for an exchange of prisoners. The negotiations for this plan could be a first step toward the conference table. It is said also, without putting too much faith in it, that all hope for mediation on the part of the Soviet Union is not lost." The writer concluded his commentary in this manner: "The Manila Conference will end, on Tuesday [25 October], with the publication of a communique from which nothing concrete is expected for the immediate future. Certainly, Monday caused no hope to be born. Unless, behind the scenes ..." On 26 October, the commentary was even more extensive. Declaring that the final communique and statements offered nothing new concerning the Vietnam war proper, the writer of one of the items appearing on that

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Finally, on 4 November an unsigned article in La Republica hailed the President's trip as "a complete success" and emphasized "the warm reception" he received. The article concluded that not speeches but the actual presence of the President of the United States in Asia was the significant part of the trip.

Regular columnist Pangloss in liberal daily El Espectador charged that US elections and not the problems discussed at Manila were foremost in the President's mind, "judging from the President's temperament and background;... he is a specialist in handling the Congress but notoriously inferior in international matters." Pangloss concluded that after the Asian trip "most Americans seem to continue supporting President Johnson's policy but they reject his personality, a perplexing situation whose contradictory effects will be known when the election results are reported."

#### Costa Rica

Three San Jose dailies (scanned for the period 24 through 31 October) and the San Jose Communist weekly Libertad (scanned for 22 and 29 October and 5 November) continued to provide considerable coverage of the President's Asian trip and the Manila Conference. Except for one laudatory editorial in moderately conservative La Prensa Libre, the non-Communist press reviewed relied entirely on the wire services for their coverage. All three issues of the Communist weekly commented editorially, criticizing the Manila Conference, the President, and US policy in general.

The anti-PLN La Nacion gave President Johnson's trip front-page headlines almost every day. Extensive UPI releases and photographs appeared on the international news pages, without comment.

The pro-PLN La Republica used AP releases exclusively, according front-page space above the masthead on the 3 days the President was in Manila. There was no editorial comment.

Moderately conservative La Prensa Libre gave both the President's trip and the Manila Conference extensive AP coverage. Front-page banner headlines proclaimed the results of the conference, President Johnson's trip to Vietnam, and his enthusiastic reception in South Korea. An editorial on 26 October lauded the conference communique, saying that "the allies' sincere desire for peace should be evident to Hanoi in the aims of peace, and the timetable for withdrawal offered. The length of the document should show how important the allies feel it is."

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and two cartoons were published.

The first of these articles, entitled "In Search of Peace" by Humberto Wong Ling, appeared on 27 October. It called President Johnson's trip and the Manila Conference attempts to find peace in Vietnam, charging that the Communists "systematically reject all plans that are proposed to them." Their idea of peace, the article continued, is "the enslavement of an entire nation." It concluded by hoping that the "unexpected miracle of peace" might result from the trip.

On 28 October, El Universal carried an article entitled "The Alliance for Peace" by Leopoldo Garcia Guevas. After giving both the Western and Communist interpretations of the Manila Conference, the article asserted that this was the first attempt by either side to bring peace to Vietnam. The article continued that the Communists have never sought peace negotiations, "for the only type of peace they want is total domination."

The third commentary appearing in El Universal was on the editorial page of the 1 November issue. "The Manila Conference" by Ruben Salazar Mallen claimed that despite the apparent failure of the conference to find a peaceful solution in Vietnam, a great triumph had been attained. By rejecting the proposal for the removal of troops, the article reasoned, the North Vietnamese had shown themselves to be the real aggressors in South Vietnam.

La Prensa, a conservative tabloid, continued to cover the trip, relying mostly on AP stories and a few AFP items, although this topic appeared less frequently as the bannerhead on the international news page in this period. Several commentaries appeared in the form of articles and cartoons, but as in the case of El Universal, there were no editorials.

On 1 November, a La Prensa article entitled "Realist Policy in Vietnam" by Mauricio Andrade saw the policy established at the Manila Conference as the following: while cautiously following the road to peace, the United States and its Asian allies maintain a firm stand against aggression.

A negative view was taken in "Ominous Trip" by Humberto L. Valdivia, appearing in La Prensa on 2 November. It said that the President's trip "left a bitter taste," for "it apparently is the preamble to a third, and possibly last, world war." It concluded this because "words of warning and threats, coupled with calls for peace, understanding and friendship have always preceded world war." The latter part of the article was concerned with China's nuclear missile launch; it condemned President Johnson's attitude that China should be denied nuclear weapons, but at the same time, it condemned France for aiding the Chinese in their nuclear development.

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nature and that the participants were interested in continuing, not halting the war; that, consequently, the purpose was to escalate the war and to contain China. As for the economic aspect, Gundersen wrote that the US is pouring enormous sums of money into a number of Asian countries, raising their level of production and standard of living. "To speak of the US' buying the support of these states is a negative and almost malicious way of describing the situation," Gundersen concluded.

In his reply, published in the 4 November issue of the paper, Kaas pointed out that the sources he used were not readily available to the Norwegian public and, therefore, understandably open to challenge. Kaas claimed that Gundersen had put words into his mouth when he accused Kaas of saying that the Manila Conference was "doomed to failure because it could not be accepted by the Viet Cong." "What I did say was," Kaas asserted, "that the seven countries were not likely to take any initiative toward 'getting on speaking terms with Hanoi and Peking,' . . . which is difficult to deny. Besides, the reaction of Hanoi and Peking speaks for itself." As to the purely economic aspect of the Vietnam conflict, Kaas continued, he did not know of any law against a personal evaluation and he concluded that it was obvious, just from a glance at the trade statistics, that the seven powers were profiting tremendously from the war.

Aside from the usual straight news items, Verdens Gang carried a rather flippant evaluation by Finkey Sokrates Axbom, a sharp criticism of the Kaas broadcast by Carl Lars Clementsen, and two cartoons. In "Peace and Tolerance," which appeared in the 21 October issue, Axbom said: "President Johnson has embarked on a trip to create a more peaceful and tolerant attitude toward the US. He is surrounded by bodyguards helping to convey this message of peace and tranquility, and we hope they will . . ."

"Depressing 'Report' from Hongkong," reader Clementsen's letter in the 3 November issue, severely criticized Kaas' report for being so subjective and personal. "It was a flood of suppositions and exceptions, etc., seasoned with a small dosage of news from the Conference itself, which Moscow radio could not have done better."

On 26 October, the only commentary offered by Arbeiderbladet, Sando saw the goals of the Conference as strengthening of the alliance; enhancing of the public opinion of President Johnson at home, through showing by this offensive move that he has not lost control of the situation; offsetting the hard military line with a "peace initiative"; and harmonizing divergent views, with the US as coordinator. According to Sando, the US has to keep out of Asian politics as much as possible, so that Asians can best work out their own solutions. "It is just that the Vietnam conflict is not such a good case upon which to build such cooperation," Sando felt. He seemed to think that conditions for peace have not been changed and that the problem is no closer to solution. To him, the Manila Conference represents a step backward from Ambassador Goldberg's UN speech.

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The 27 October issue of O Seculo editorialized on the relationship between the President's trip and the then forthcoming elections and, except in its title, scarcely made any further direct mention of the trip itself. Other issues of the paper during the period in question carried generally objective reports submitted by the ANI, AFP, and Reuters services, and in several instances accompanied by relevant photographs.

### Spain

The four major Madrid dailies reviewed for the general period 24 October-9 November provided almost daily Efe, Reuter, and UPI news service coverage of and considerable commentary on the President's trip and the Manila Conference until approximately 5 November, when coverage of these topics generally stopped. Most commentaries expressed the view that the President's trip would be politically advantageous to him in the US and that it strengthened US relations with its allies and their resolve to combat Communism. Although most commentaries also asserted that the Manila proposals were potentially positive steps toward negotiation, pessimism was generally expressed concerning the probability of their acceptance by the Communists.

The Falange organ Arriba, which carried factual news service reports in its 26-30 October and 2-4 November issues, provided by far the greatest volume of commentary of any of the four papers reviewed. Ruibal's series of articles on the Manila Conference, which discussed a wide variety of aspects of the Vietnamese problem in a largely factual manner, was completed in the 28-30 October and the 1 and 2 November issues. Ruibal commented: "The fraternization with all of his allies which was carried out in Manila leaves Johnson in a better position, especially with regard to US opinion, in which Johnson appeared increasingly isolated." Concerning the probable results of the Manila Conference, Ruibal speculated: "And if the outlook is not for a new pact of the SEATO type, which would be excessive for these allies, perhaps the US will seek a formula for creating a 'peace policy' like that created for the Dominican operation." He also said that the offer to withdraw US Forces from Vietnam "is in reality an offer which lends itself to the most ambiguous interpretations ... it is something so unspecific that it is impossible to implement it." He also asserted that President Johnson's statement that he would never recognize Vietnam [sic] and that he is not prepared to negotiate with it "destroyed what remained of the Manila agreements and the suspicion of Hanoi, Peking, or Moscow did not need a better argument." Nevertheless, he added: "In any event, this does not mean to say that US diplomacy is not going forward." The 25 October issue carried four commentaries. Ismael Medina expressed the opinion that "the sincere peace aspirations of the Manila Conference cannot be doubted, although Johnson's spectacular trip through the Pacific and the meeting 'at

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Berlingske Tidende continued daily coverage in the form of brief news reports, in its 28 October-1 November issues.

Communist Land og Folk dropped its usually prominent, critical coverage of events in the Southeast Asian area after 29 October. An unattributed article on the Manila Conference, on 26 October, accompanied by a photograph of representatives of Australia, New Zealand, and "four Asian vassal states" signing the communique, referred to the "dubious promise" of US withdrawal and to the lack of official information concerning a decision to form a permanent agency for coordinating "aggression efforts" of the seven countries.

An editorial of 27 October titled, "Just as Expected in Manila," claimed that the Conference was a disappointment to all, having "spent 8 hours on military expansion and one hour on the peace problems," and that "even the authors of the communique must realize that it is the most clumsy attempt made so far to deceive public opinion."

#### Finland

The difference in interpretations of the message of the Manila Communique between the Finnish non-Communist and Communist newspapers was striking. The non-Communist papers, independent Helsingin Sanomat and conservative Uusi Suomi, reviewed through 3 November, saw the US willing to make concessions and even thought that a glimmer of hope existed for the Vietnam situation and for a better life for Asians; Communist Kansan Uutiset reviewed through 5 November, read only that the military activity would be increased and the US position in Vietnam had stiffened. Social Democratic Suomen Sosialidemokraatti, also reviewed through 5 November, carried only factual reports.

Helsingin Sanomat carried two editorials on the Manila Conference, the first of which appeared in the paper's 27 October issue under the title "Manila Offering." Pointing out that the Communique concentrated "entirely on the building of peace," the paper noted that the Communique was divided into two parts, the first of which "clarifies the conditions under which the Allies are prepared to withdraw" and the second part "aims farther into the future, for building some sort of Asian Great Society." Citing the highlights of Ambassador Goldberg's speeches in the UN on the Vietnam situation, Helsingin Sanomat saw the Communique as a continuation of those speeches. The paper said that now Washington, with its Allies, "has pledged before the whole world" to withdraw all foreign troops from South Vietnam in half a year after Hanoi has moved its own and all troops under it to its own side of the border and has ended infiltration. The paper felt that "the promise, with the time table, is so convincing and believable that it would appear that the Manila negotiators wished to make it easier for Hanoi to withdraw."

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which shakes Mao's own government, the outlook is so disastrous that only peace dictated immediately can avoid the total annihilation of the country."

La Noticia of 6 November carried an article titled "Johnson and Communism" by M. Lopez Martinez quoting some of the President's statements in Malaysia to the effect that Malaysia's military action to stop Communist aggression lends hope for the future.

### Panama

Seven Panama City dailies were scanned for the period 24 October-5 November. Daily front-page headlines and news agency releases continued to appear in three newspapers: conservative La Estrella de Panama, nationalist El Panama-America, and El Mundo. There were only four editorials among the seven newspapers during the period, all favorable to the United States.

Ultrnationalist, anti-U.S. Critica carried daily UPI releases on its international page, without comment. Leftist La Hora ignored the President's trip and the Manila Conference entirely. Independent La Prensa carried no wire service releases, but in an editorial entitled "Red Indictment," it commented that the United States has done much for peace and the Communists have not responded. It saw the conference as a new attempt to find a solution in Vietnam; it said that U.S. objectives were clear and that Hanoi should realize it cannot win.

Nationalist conservative El Dia carried UPI releases in its English-language section only during the actual period of the Manila Conference. On 2 November, an NEA syndicated column appeared, saying that positive steps after the conference are needed or cynicism will ensue. There was no coverage of the trip in the Spanish-language section. Besides its daily AP releases, El Mundo carried a Barry Brown column on 5 November comparing the Vietnamese war with the Korean war. The author pointed out that the Northern aggression was not quite so clear in Vietnam as in Korea; "in other ways, however, the two situations are quite similar."

La Estrella de Panama commented on 29 October that the Manila Conference had given North Vietnam an honorable way to settle the war. It suggested that perhaps Hanoi was waiting for the U.S. elections, but that it was "certainly" aware that the U.S. could totally destroy North Vietnam and it should therefore settle for peace instead of destruction.

El Panama America supported the United States in its two editorials. On 26 October, it stated that the U.S. is within its rights under international law to be in Vietnam. The 28 October editorial commented as follows on the two objectives apparent from the Manila Conference: "the allies are not looking for unconditional surrender as such a peace would

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remarks at the latter's press conference of late October, particularly his statement that "no military victory will enable the Americans to subjugate the Vietnamese...."

### Syria

A 22 October - 4 November survey of the Damascus dailies, al-Ba'th and al-Thawrah, revealed that both editorials and news reports were used to demonstrate a very critical and obviously hostile attitude toward the US and the Manila Conference. Coverage by the former consisted mainly of news reports, while the latter carried several editorials in addition to a smattering of new items. They emphasized two main themes: the unpopularity of US policy and President Johnson as evidenced by demonstrations and security measures during the President's trip; and the aggressive intentions and policies of the participants of the Manila Conference, the US in particular. Of these two themes, the second was given more stress both in the news items and editorials. Many of the news items were reports of criticisms emanating from Communist capitals, Hanoi especially.

The "factual" coverage in al-Ba'th is exemplified by its 25 October headlines: "The Manila Conference is a Military Council Aiming at Escalating the Vietnam War," "Conference of New Plots by American Imperialism," and "American will Demand More Forces To Be Sent." The 26 October edition reported the "Manila Conference Declaration for Peace and Progress in Southeast Asia," but preface it with news agencies' reports from Hanoi and the headline, "Hanoi Refuses Peace Talks Prior to an American Pullout."

A Bashir al-Jallad editorial in the 22 October edition of al-Thawrah pointed out the alleged inconsistency of statements of Vietnam by McNamara, Goldberg and Rusk, and asserted that this indicated US intentions to escalate the war there. Jallad charged that the President's speech in New Zealand was "another indication of US aggressive intentions against North Vietnam and an attempt to force other peoples to follow the path of force." An editorial by Salim Khalifah in the 25 October edition called the Manila Conference a "council of war,"--in the same issue, a news report from Hanoi called the Conference a military council--for coordinating plans for escalating "the aggressive war in Vietnam." Stating that a link exists between the recent abortive coup in Laos and the Manila Conference, Khalifah asserted that "Johnson and American intelligence circles behind him" wanted to give America's conference allies an encouraging point of departure by the rightist coup in Laos and that the US wants to make Laos itself one of the fronts in the war.

### Turkey

Five newspapers were reviewed for the period 22-28 October for coverage of President Johnson's Asian trip and the Manila Conference. Although there

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The editorial observed that the two highly important factors emerging from the peace proposal offered at Manila are the time limit for the withdrawal of allied troops and a well-defined difference between the infiltrators from the North and the South Vietnamese rebels. The source then pointed out that the South Vietnamese Government is responsible for controlling the latter group and that the continuation of the civil war will not serve as a pretext for delaying the withdrawal of US forces if North Vietnamese aggression ceases.

El Mercurio's 31 October editorial and cartoon echoed these same views. (Cartoon follows on page .)

In a discussion of the conclusions of the Manila Conference, government-owned La Nacion on 1 November pointed out that the absence of North Vietnam at the conference transformed the meeting into more of a declaration of principles than an attempt at reconciliation. The US, the editorial continued, went to Manila to approach the Southeast Asian problem from the viewpoint of economic and political reforms, adding that this new emphasis also has repercussions in the military sphere. "In effect," it reasoned "the shock troops, previously dispersed, will concentrate on the border to serve as a shield for the rest of the country which will be completely engaged in Vietnam's economic resurgence, thereby contributing to the normal development of commercial activities and providing an exhausted people with an imitation of peace." The editorial termed the Manila communique as far from a prologue to armistice, observing the date of the withdrawal of troops is left up to the government's interpretation: it is not a time limit; it is a possibility.

An article by Carlos Calderon Ruiz de Gamboa published in socialist Ultima Hora on 1 November connected the trip with the 8 November US elections, calling the President's journey "definitely a political one though he defined it as 'sentimental' in Sydney." Noting the President's loss of prestige within his own party as indicated by the Gallup polls, the writer stated that "such a spectacular trip can do nothing short of rejuvenating Johnson politically."

An article signed "Claros" in the 27 October issue of Ultima Hora stated that President Johnson's trip eclipsed the Manila Conference which no daily paper remembers any longer, although Generals Cao Ky and Thieu would prefer to remember the conference and forget the trip. "The President's visit to Cam Ranh Bay instead of Saigon, the article maintained, far from consecrating the generals' "legitimacy" and power in the hearts of the Vietnamese, must have heightened their feeling of dependence resulting from the constant presence of 320,000 US soldiers in their country. The article also pointed out that in the US, a few days before elections, the trip will be transformed into a gesture of far greater significance than numerous speeches. The

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In reference to the Manila Conference, it was used to "establish the outline of further escalation in Vietnam," according to a 29-30 October Glos Pracy article by Stanislaw Brodzki. The writer called the Conference "a complete political misfire. Never before was the isolation of the United States so obvious. ... Now, the United States leads only two rather small Anglo-Saxon countries and a handful of Asian clients and satellites..."

The 13 November issue of Zycie Warszawy, in an article entitled "Vietnam and Attempts at Mediation," placed little value on the peaceful words of President Johnson during his tour, because "Johnson, McNamara, Rusk, and Goldberg know very well that only bilateral agreement between the two belligerent sides can be a prelude to the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, and demagogical promises from Manila or the United Nations forum will by no means prompt this agreement."

#### Rumania

The Bucharest dailies, Scinteia, Munca, and Romania Libera gave very little attention to the Manila Conference and President Johnson's Asian trip during the period from 29 October to 10 November.

The following excerpts are from an article by Al. Cimpeanu which appeared in the 29 October issue of the party organ, Scinteia: "Another episode in the propaganda campaign launched by the US imperialists for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of peoples and taking attention away from plans to intensify and extend aggression against the Vietnamese people has been concluded. The Manila Conference 11., presented as a manifestation of the so-called desire of the US for 'peace', has proven to be a skillful maneuver to mask the increasing isolation of the interventionists on the domestic and international level. While President Johnson squandered words of 'peace' during his Asian tour and even at the Manila Conference, tons of bombs dropped by US aircraft fell on North Vietnamese cities and villages, industrial centers, railroads, and highways."

#### Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav press for the 26 October-4 November period expressed general disappointment in the results of the Manila Conference and gave factual accounts on the remainder of President Johnson's tour, continuing to stress the demonstrations against the US at the various places visited by the President.

"The course and conclusion of the Manila Conference ... confirmed the view that this would be a conference preoccupied with military matters," was the judgment made by Dragan D. Markovic, recently-appointed correspondent for the Belgrade daily, Borba, in his first report from New York,

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Cuba

The Cuban press in the general period 22 October-4 November continued its anti-US and slanted reporting policy in covering the President's Asian trip and the Manila Conference. The available issues of the government-controlled Havana dailies El Mundo, Juventud Rebelde, and the Communist Party organ Granma reported under generally unfavorable headlines numerous stories, generally supplied by Prensa Latina. Only El Mundo editorialized, saying that the main objective of the trip was to influence US youths to continue going to the "slaughterhouse of Vietnam," insisting that the US has no support, and calling the Manila Conference "much ado about nothing."

Typical Granma coverage of the trip was in Prensa Latina reports on 26 October headed "Puppets Meeting Ends" saying the conferees had agreed to maintain military occupation of South Vietnam and air attacks against North Vietnam; another dispatch on the same day was headed "Students and Teachers Protest Repression in Manila." The 27 October issue reported the visit to Cam Ranh Bay, the President described as arriving "dressed in his favorite Texas outfit." Similar dispatches appeared in this daily on 29 and 30 October and 1 and 4 November.

Juventud Rebelde carried similar reports, with "SE" items and Prensa Latina items appearing in its issues of 22, 25, and 29 October, and, surprisingly, an AP dispatch from Anchorage on 2 November saying the US will adopt a firm anti-Communist position in Asia.

Besides the usual big play given to anti-US demonstrations and the "hostile reception" given to the President at his various stops in its issues of 25 and 30 October and 1 and 4 November, El Mundo carried the following editorial on 27 October:

"It is clear that... the principal objective of President Johnson's long trip was to convince US youth that not to rely on universal hatred but on the sympathy of the visited countries, so that they continue marching resigned to the slaughterhouse of Vietnam. Pursuing this aim, he went after wool and departed sheared, since the energetic rejection by those peoples has proved that the Yankee aggression has only the support of its lackeys and mercenaries. Moreover, the concrete results of the much overrated Manila Conference constitute much ado about nothing. Such disturbance, such bustle, such police repression, for what reason? From the communique issued by the conference, it can be deduced: (1) that the US has not been able to overcome the resistance of the Vietnamese people and is being forced to send new contingents of troops in 1967; and (2) that in its determination to deceive world opinion, the imperialists insist on presenting themselves as champions of peace, proposing that the patriots give up defending their land, as a precondition condition to the withdrawal of the forces of aggression.

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into a colossal American military base, "Y.P." concluded that "even if he strongly doubts that Moscow, Peking or Hanoi believes his declaration, Mr Johnson hopes nonetheless that the rest of the world (Europe in particular) will believe it. He trusts above all that the American people will see a reason to hope that they will see, one day, the end of this intervention, whose weight presses more and more on their daily lives. We are, let us not forget, only a few days away from the elections and, as we have already written, President Johnson is taking advantage of his trip to try to restore his own fortunes and those of the Democrats." Another commentary on the trip appeared on 3 November. Again an unsigned article, this one stated that although "it is true that, as concerns the war in Vietnam, one did not progress one step toward peace, it appears more and more true that that prospect, in the mind of the head of the White House, was not the only one and perhaps was not even the most important one. It was, then, in another perspective that the trip was first organized and must first be judged -- that of the legislative elections." The writer of this article then went on to cite the decrease in drawing power, prior to the trip, of the President and his party, remarking that "an effective electoral campaign was necessary. The President chose to conduct this campaign not in the United States, but in the Asian world. Thus, the middle-class American, thanks to television, could see his President traverse the stages of a sort of pilgrimage undertaken in the name of liberty, the Presidential image flooding the small screens throughout the journey. And it is quite possible that the plan succeeded. Even before the head of the White House returned to the United States, new soundings showed an increase in his prestige, proof that the American electorate was perhaps not indifferent to the efforts of its President." The writer lastly reiterated previously mentioned statements on the preparation made by the President for the postwar period, praising this stand, and concluded with the assertion that "the outlook for this Asian construction is no doubt far enough distant, but it is not too early to plan and to make points against Communist propaganda. It is possible that the Americans will be responsive to this argument."

Finally, on 7 November, La Libre Belgique carried a front-page article by Senate president and La Libre Belgique regular contributor, Paul Struye. Under the title "After Manila," Struye wrote that the Conference was "a personal success for the President," that the manifestations of hostility which he met in several cities "were obviously only the work of feeble minorities," and that for the countries concerned, "President Johnson is the champion of anti-Communism and, by the same token, the supreme and irreplaceable protector." The success of the Presidential voyage, Struye continued, "has proven, once more, that the Pacific Ocean has become in very large part an American 'mare nostrum'. It has also permitted the observation that Australia and New Zealand are more and more 'englobed' within an

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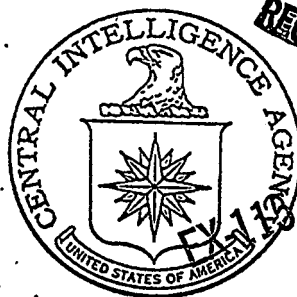
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23 NOVEMBER 1966

Tropus-Pac

FOREIGN PRESS INFORMATION REPORT

WORLD PRESS REACTION TO  
PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S FAR EASTERN TRIP

(Final Survey)



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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
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Foreign Documents Division

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Manila "a step backward" compared with Ambassador Goldberg's proposals, and predicted that they would lead "to another escalation" in Vietnam. "Under these conditions, not only is the end of the war in Vietnam put off; but everything leads us to believe that it will increase in violence and that the international implications will grow more dangerous. In fact, Manila constitutes a challenge, not only to the Vietnamese combatants, but also to world opinion, which must be met."

No other reference was made to the Manila Conference, except indirectly in a Phnom Penh ATS-Reuter dispatch concerning a "Manila Counter-Conference in Phnom Penh."

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On 23 October, Nhan Dan commented, over the signature of Quang Thai: "The Johnson clique's attempt to hide its isolation by putting a collective label on its aggression in Vietnam will be in vain. Apart from the US imperialists, all the other participants have sold body and soul for US dollars. They have either invited US troops to trample on their countries and repress their people, or are tied to the US by military alliances. In the war in Vietnam, they are tagging along behind the United States, to which they have supplied mercenaries. The conference will be a meeting between creditor and debtors. How could such a conference explore all possible steps to peace and prosperity in that part of the world? The US also intends to use the conference to reduce its isolation in the world by putting an Asian label on its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people and by describing this as a collective war. Another of Johnson's objectives is to campaign for the Democratic Party in the November elections, as even the US press points out. Another aim is to rally the US agents in Asia and the Pacific to serve US long-range aggressive schemes in this area,... by forming an aggressive military bloc in Asia and the Pacific with the immediate aim of opposing the Vietnamese people and the long-term aim of opposing the revolutionary movements of the peoples of Asia and launching aggression against Asian countries. Finally, Johnson will jingle his dirty aid dollars at Manila in an attempt to lure the Vietnamese people into surrender. But the Vietnamese people will reject this rotten carrot with contempt. The Manila Conference is a wicked maneuver aimed at intensifying the aggressive war in Vietnam, splitting and opposing the Asian peoples, and deceiving world public opinion."

On 25 October, Nhan Dan carried an article signed "Noi That" (Truth Teller), describing the Manila Conference as "but a new peace farce staged by the US." The article denounced Philippine President Marcos (Misspelling his name as a word meaning "pimp") as "a puppet of the US and a dollar devil ... capable of the vilest acts." It claimed that the "US aggressors" staged the "farce" of the Manila Conference with the objectives of "shifting the blame for refusing peace to Vietnam; forcing their satellites to supply more troops to expand the war; and, at the same time, internationalizing the aggression in Vietnam, using Asians to fight Asians. Johnson also wants to use this conference to fool the American people in the coming US elections. ... The Manila Conference is talking of fake peace while preparing to step up real war." According to the article, "everywhere he went, Johnson was showered with curses by the people."

A 24 October Nhan Dan article by Le Binh, titled "The Real Facts About Marcos and the So-Called 'Independence' and 'Democracy' of the Countries Taking Part in the Manila Conference," denounced President Marcos and the Manila Conference. Quoting Western sources, it pointed

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other words," replied People's Daily, "this vast area of Asia and the Pacific, including China, is to be placed under the domination and enslavement of US imperialism."

On 28 October, an "Observer" article, "On the War Criminals' Search for Peace," said substantially the same thing, in somewhat more moderate language. It demanded that the US withdraw its troops from South Vietnam "completely and immediately." The "revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union" is accused of helping create the Manila Conference. The article concluded by quoting Ho Chi Minh that "the Vietnamese people will certainly win."

An editorial note in the same issue, "Paper Tiger Again Reveals His Nature," together with a short news item, described how "L. B. Johnson stealthily slipped into Cam Ranh Bay and back to Manila quietly, by dark of night. The fact that the President of the world's leading imperialist power should come and go surreptitiously like a thief proves what a guilty conscience he has and what kind of deals he is engaged in, too mean and dirty to let other people know."

An editorial comment from the Hanoi Nhan Dan is extensively quoted in the 28 October People's Daily on the theme that the Manila Conference reveals President Johnson's "hopeless and aggressive ambitions."

The Manila Conference was mentioned tangentially in a 31 October, article denouncing the Southeast Asian trip made by Japanese Foreign Minister Shiina, in 2 November stories on a press conference by the North Vietnam charge d'affaires in which he criticized the "Manila war conference," and on a speech by Ch'en I, who expressed similar sentiments.

In a Commentator article on 3 November, People's Daily claimed that the Manila Conference was held in October in order to avoid the Chinese nuclear tests, "which the US calculated would come in November. The test, coming exactly when Johnson was starting out on his Asian tour... left him stupified for 2 whole days." President Johnson's statement on the nuclear missile test was quoted in part and ridiculed as "big talk ... in an attempt to cover up his own fears."

A small item on 31 October described anti-American riots at the University of Malaya, at which photographs of Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Westmoreland, and others were burned. No further mention was made of President Johnson's visits to Malaysia, Thailand, or South Korea.

People's Daily basically concluded its coverage of the Manila Conference and the President's trip in a page-4 wrap-up on 7 November. An Observer article, entitled "The Robber's Neck and the People's Noose," set the tone by describing Johnson as "a rat running across the street at which every passer-by cries 'Throw a rock at it!'" It depicted the trip as another effort to "strangle the Vietnam revolution in order to suppress the national

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day noted that the promise made by the US and its allies to withdraw their troops 6 months after a North Vietnamese troop withdrawal continued the Washington line of thought, previously expressed, that US troops were never intended to remain "eternally" beside the South Vietnamese. Citing again the 6-month specification, the writer continued: "One does not see how this specification could any further convince the North Vietnamese to begin 'de-escalation'. Because the fundamental divergency remains: for the United States, it is necessary to help South Vietnam repulse a sustained Communist aggression coming in part from the North; for North Vietnam, the conflict is a civil war led by the Vietnamese people against the Saigon government which was imposed by the force of American bayonets. The agreement made by the participants at the Manila 'summit'," the writer went on, "is, then, only one more pat answer in the dialogue of the deaf which does not seem to be near an ending. The participants are not talking about the same thing. As long as this divergency exists, an agreement -- for the war properly speaking -- is not possible." The writer noted, however, that "the war properly speaking" was not the only topic in Manila. "The US and its allies," he asserted, "were much less preoccupied with putting an end to the armed conflict than with preparing the postwar situation. They discussed at length this 'new Asia' which must be created when the guns will have quieted." Stating that these efforts must be applauded, the writer nonetheless concluded that "peace can not be organized before the war has ended, and to wish to invert the process appears rather vain. As does the Manila Conference, which saw itself as an historic conference, but which missed its prime objective: to find the way to peace, without which no construction is possible! In other words, in Manila, the cart was placed before the horse -- a horse which, in the immediate future, is not near to finding the path to the fields. Because, between the intransigence of North Vietnam and the ultra-conservatism of the United States and its allies, one is no further advanced today than yesterday." The 31 October issue of La Libre Belgique carried, besides factual articles dealing with the trip, a column by special correspondent "Y. P." entitled "There Was No Miracle at Manila," which stated that the answer to the problem of the war in Vietnam "is in Hanoi and Peking and, obviously, the Communists seem no more decided than in the past to change their attitude." Remarking that "the Americans and their allies are evidently perfectly aware of this situation," "Y.P." declared that "in spite of all, they made a good will gesture toward Hanoi in their final communique." The columnist then, however, cited Paragraph 29 of the communique which stated that the US would pull out of South Vietnam "when the subversive forces of the North have withdrawn, when infiltration ceases, and when the levels of violence lowers," and said that "this text is as vague as the 6-months period announced by Mr Johnson." Stating that the President's desire was "to reaffirm to the world that the United States has no intention of transforming, in a permanent way, South Vietnam

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Dahomey

The two newspapers reviewed for the general period 25 October-8 November were the Porto Novo government daily Bulletin Quotidien d'Information de l'ADP and the Cotonou progovernment thrice-weekly Le Democrate. The latter carried only small factual items on President Johnson's visit to Australia, the end of the Manila Conference and the joint communique, and President Johnson's departure for South Vietnam.

The Bulletin Quotidien between 25 and 28 October carried factual articles on the Manila Conference, mentioning the Allies' confirmed determination to carry on the war, the final communique of the Conference with an enumeration of South Vietnam's essential elements for peace, and President Johnson's visit to Thailand.

French Somaliland

Only one issue of the Djibouti progovernment weekly Le Reveil de Djibouti, reviewed for the period 15 October-12 November 1966, made any mention of the President's trip. The 29 October issue made a mere passing reference to the President's "lightning visit" to South Vietnam and also carried a brief factual report on the Manila Conference.

Gabon

A review of the 17-31 October issues of the Libreville government daily Bulletin Quotidien de l'AGI revealed only limited factual reporting on the President's trip and the Manila Conference. The reports from the various capitals on the President's route were presented in a way favorable to the US.

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Italy

Italian press coverage of President Johnson's trip and of the Manila Conference remained voluminous in the 24 October - 6 November issues of the six major dailies reviewed. Aside from the consistently mordant Communist l'Unita, the papers gave interpretations ranging from neutral to friendly toward the US, and from pessimistic to mildly hopeful with respect to possible benefits from the trip and the Conference.

From 24 October through 2 November, the Turin independent La Stampa contained several pertinent articles; ANSA wirephotos accompanied the articles of 25 and 26 October, while an AP telephoto appeared with the 27 October article.

A 24 October article reported from Manila that there was a rumor to the effect that "there may be encouraging significance in a [peace] move made by the Hungarian government," but that "it remains to be seen whether Hanoi has in any way inspired or solicited the Hungarian move; if it has, it would assume considerable importance." The 25-27 October issues reported on the progress of the Conference, the anti-US student demonstrations at President Johnson's hotel in Manila, the communiques and other documents issued at the Conference, and the President's trip to Cam Ranh. A 28 October article by Nicola Caracciolo reported from Washington the President's departure from Manila for Bangkok, Thailand. His statements affirming the reasons for the presence of US troops in Vietnam were presented in context without comment.

On 31 October, an article by "a.p." reported on the "serious incidents in Malaysia." Two fairly lengthy quotations from President Johnson's addresses to the Malaysian people were included in this article, which was fair and objective in tone.

An AP item in the 1 November issue told of the President's reception in Seoul by 2 million Koreans, and repeated his statement concerning US aid to South Korea should the Communists renew their attack.

A Ferdinando Vegas article in the 2 November issue reviewed the trip, asserting that it had enabled the President to discuss both the military and the political aspects of the Vietnam war, with the former aspect having been discussed, "as it properly should have been," in private. It noted that the final communique issued by the conferees "did not say much, but it said it very softly," a quotation attributed to The Observer. The concluding paragraph asserted that an end to the war could only be brought about by de-escalation, and that such a step depends entirely upon the US, "as The New York Times has so often reiterated."

The 25 October to 6 November issues of Avanti!, the Rome daily organ of the Italian Socialist Party, included several issues that

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An article in La Noticia of 30 October titled "The World, Pacifist Tendencies," by Borrell Navaro, compared the Moscow and Manila conferences in the following terms:

"Although the international situation continues to be confused, two facts make us believe that the two conferences, in Moscow and Manila, are each pursuing the effort to end the hostilities in Southeast Asia. It is symptomatic that in the recent conclave of Communist leaders in Moscow, attended by Soviet allies in Eastern Europe and also Cuba and Mongolia, the war in Vietnam was not discussed officially. This issue, which must have exceptional importance for all the Communist Bloc was not even pointed out in the pompous and innocuous declaration issued at the end of the conclave. It is also very significant that the Manila Conference, attended by seven nations fighting against the Hanoi-based Communist aggression, has already developed a constructive objective, putting special emphasis (apparently at least) on making the world see that its great peace offensive is sincere. "...all the heads of state [in Manila] made it clear that the doors for bargaining have not been closed and that negotiation must be the norm to end the conflict between Hanoi and Saigon."

"It has been clearly seen that the leaders of the Communist Bloc who follow the dictates of the Soviet Union do not want to be involved further in the Southeast Asia conflict. Once the Manila Conference was announced, they wanted to have a head start and wanted it to be known that they were plotting a new strategy to strengthen Hanoi's position. This was a direct message sent to the leaders of North Vietnam, so that they will not be confused over the aid they can expect from their Red allies."

The article asserted that instead of proposing massive new war plans, "including the use of the atomic bomb," the Manila Conference issued calm pronouncements based on "eloquently sensible criteria." The article observed that the Sino-Soviet conflict had probably been discussed in both the Moscow meeting and the Manila Conference and that the U.S. and USSR are seeking a rapprochement. It continued: "Significantly allowed to slip out in the press statement released after the Moscow meeting is the announcement that a close communication of all the allies of Eastern Europe, Cuba, and Mongolia will be maintained. Confidential reports filtered through diplomatic channels insinuate that the meeting was part of the gradual exchange of guidance of the Soviets to attain peace in Southeast Asia. Such a decision is obviously directed at Peiping leaving it completely isolated and the sole backer of intensifying the present war."

"For the Ho Chi Minh government, the situation during the coming days has to be very embarrassing. Its key supply points destroyed by the U.S., with internal economic problems, without sincere cooperation from its Red allies, and Peiping being confronted with a real revolution

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A 23 October Nodong Simmun article titled "Thunderbolts of Paint on Johnson" told of paint being thrown at the President's car in Melbourne, and also told of Philippine students demonstrating against the Manila Conference in front of the Presidential Palace in Manila. Another article stated that "the Pak Chong-hui clique is strengthening its net of fascist persecution in South Korea and oppressing patriotic students prior to Johnson's visit there." A 23 October Minju Choson article, entitled "The Manila War Conference," quoted The New York Times as having called the Manila Conference a conference to "escalate the war" and as having denounced the President's Asian trip.

Nodong Simmun carried an article on 24 October titled "Let's Throw Out the US Imperialist Aggressor Power From South Korea" and subtitled "Don't Come Creeping Into South Korea, Aggressor Johnson," declaring that President Johnson was coming to South Korea "to drag more puppet troops into the Vietnam war and to pursue the criminal aim of taking steps to 'internationalize' this war."

The 25 October issues of Nodong Simmun and Minju Choson reported, under the heading "Johnson the demon, McNamara the vampire, and Rusk the War Criminal," that the President was "christened" in Australia with rotten eggs and tomatoes, and that Philippine students bearing placards with the above name pushed into the Manila hotel where the Johnson party and his "stooges" were staying.

A Nodong Simmun article of 27 October, entitled "The Escalation Plotting of the US Imperialists Cannot But Fail," said that the "so-called 'Manila Conference' is a drama of deception to conceal, under the guise of 'peace,' the criminal machinations of the US imperialists in an attempt to rally against their crushing defeat and to escalate the Vietnam war. The US imperialists are now constantly facing a tremendous political and military defeat in the Vietnam war and are sinking into a dilemma from which they cannot extricate themselves. They are making a desperate effort to find a way out of the humiliating defeat they are facing in Vietnam by a new plot to escalate the war." The article was published as a "declaration by a spokesman for the DPRK Foreign Ministry,"

Another article from the same issue, appearing under the title "Johnson the butcher of Asia!" severely denounced the Manila Conference in similar tones.

A 27 October Nodong Simmun asserted that "the American imperialists are indifferent to the strong protest and censure of the people of Vietnam and the world in holding the so-called conference of 'nations participating in the Vietnam war' in Manila, along with their puppets. They discussed new plans for escalating the war in Vietnam at the conference, under the guise of 'examining' the Vietnamese 'political and military situation' and 'seeking' a 'peaceful solution' to the Vietnamese problem."

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not be stable, and they are not trying to change any systems of government. This should not be construed as an ideological war." The newspaper hoped that a feeling of trust would develop from statements like those recently made by President Johnson.

#### Peru

The Lima press, during the period 21 October-3 November, devoted considerable space to photographs and wire service reports on President Johnson's Asian trip, and five of the six daily newspapers scanned for this period published significant editorial comment on the implications of the trip. The three conservative dailies that normally carry extensive international news -- Beltran-owned La Prensa, Miro Quesada-owned El Comercio, and Prado-owned La Cronica -- followed the trip on a daily basis, publishing the wire-service dispatches on inside international news pages under headings that stressed the peaceful nature of the trip. The opening of the Manila Conference received prominent front-page space. Less coverage was given by independent Correo and by the Aprista organ La Tribuna, both of which published the stories under factual headings in small type. Coverage by the moderately leftist Expreso was more extensive than by Correo and La Tribuna.

Editorial comment in conservative La Cronica portrayed President Johnson's trip as underlining the new importance of the Pacific Ocean region. An editorial in the 21 October issue of the paper said "It is not insignificant that the first trip that President Johnson makes abroad since he arrived at the White House is one through Asian lands. The action in itself symbolizes the meaning of what the U.S. President meant several months ago when he used an expression that in English has two meanings: 'the pacific era,' and the 'Era of the Pacific.'... With this, we are trying to say that although the approaching Manila Conference must have as its principal theme Vietnam, the dialogue must be as far-reaching as the Pacific Ocean itself.... The Manila Conference must be considered as part of a great effort directed toward regional collaboration." Political commentator Observador, writing in "International Panorama of the Week," published in La Cronica on 23 October, referred to the "Triumphant Journey of Mr. Johnson to Asia," saying that President Johnson is visiting the region of the world that finds itself destined to be the great stage for Communist downfall. "Thanks to the action of the North Americans in Vietnam, this trip became possible and there has opened for Asia the perspective of freedom and, for the entire world, the reign of peace." On 30 October El Comercio's Sunday Supplement carried a noncommittal review of the "Ups and Downs of the Manila Trip." On 3 November, La Cronica published an article by Harold Holt, Prime Minister of Australia, in which the Prime Minister said "No one has fought with greater desire for peace in Vietnam than the President of the United States, and he has not been alone. The greater part of the world supports him."

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to US bases, military personnel, and "other forms of US pressure in the Philippines which reduce that country's independence to a farce." Quoting the Paris daily Le Monde and the Manila Times, it charged that the "showcase of democracy is riddled with murder, corruption, and smuggling" and attacked President Marcos as "a political gangster."

A 27 October Nhan Dan "Commentator" article reported that "the Manila Conference has revealed a four-point US scheme against Vietnam: (1) to step up and expand the war; (2) to increase aid to the puppets in Saigon so they can carry out their plans for rural pacification and economic and social development; (3) to urge the Vietnamese people to accept the Americans' insulting conditions for a peaceful settlement; and (4) to rig up a regional organization consisting of the US and its henchmen, to oppose the people of Vietnam and Asia."

"Commentator" continued: "To the United States, the independence of South Vietnam means keeping Vietnam permanently partitioned and transforming South Vietnam into an American neocolony. The Manila Conference has brought into the open the US maneuver of pressing its satellites to send more of their youth as cannon fodder to South Vietnam. The conference was part of the US scheme to intensify and expand its aggressive war in Vietnam and use Asians to fight Asians. The so-called plan for rural pacification and economic development in South Vietnam was already mentioned early this year at the Honolulu Conference. It is part of the US carrot-and-stick policy, which has failed in the past and is doomed to fail in the future.... The peaceful settlement proposed at the Manila Conference is a demand for the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and surrender to the US aggressors. It means that the US will withdraw its troops only when its stooges have consolidated their rule in South Vietnam and South Vietnam has become a neocolony of the US. This was the way the US withdrew from the Dominican Republic.... The peaceful solution proposed by the US at the Manila Conference is even more cynical and insolent than the conditions which it had earlier put to the Vietnamese people and had been categorically rejected by them.... The Manila Conference has also revealed the US imperialists' scheme to rally its lackeys into a military alliance to serve the aggressive and war-provoking plans of the US in Vietnam at present and in other areas in Asia in the future.... Johnson also wanted to use the conference to embellish his henchmen.... These maneuvers could in no way hide the truth. In the eyes of the world, the Manila Conference remains an insipid farce, of which the US was the director, while the rest were only clowns who lived on US dollars and acted under US orders."

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